THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

From the FOUNDATION of the

CITY OF ROME,

To the DESTRUCTION of the

WESTERN EMPIRE.

ABRIDGED for the USE of SCHOOLS.

By Dr. GOLDSMITH,

DUBLIN:
Printed by J. WILLIAMS, No. 21, Skinner-Row.
M,DCC,LXXXI.

1578 777



Lately Publiſhed,

Price Three Britiſh Shillings, bound,

A COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

BY

QUESTION and ANSWER,

FROM

The INVASION of JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The YEAR M.DCC.LXVI.

Extracted from the

Moſt Celebrated Engliſh Hiſtorians,

PARTICULARLY

RAPIN, TINDAL, HUME, and SMOLLETT;

And calculated for the

Inſtruction and Entertainment of the Youth of both Sexes.

Hiſtoria verò Teſtis (eſt) *Temporum, Lux Veritatis, Vita Memoriæ, Magiſtra Vitæ, Nuntia Vetuſtatis.*

CICERO.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE preſent Abridgment was ſuggeſted by the Heads of ſome of our principal Schools. It was thought, that the ſubſtance of the Roman Hiſtory, thrown into eaſy *narrative* would excite the curioſity of Youth much more agreeably than in the common mode of *Queſtion and Anſwer*; calculated to turn into *taſk* a ſpecies of inſtruction meant certainly for *entertainment*.

PREFACE.

"THERE are ſome ſubjects on which a writer muſt decline all attempts to acquire fame, ſatisfied with being obſcurely uſeful. After ſuch a number of Roman Hiſtories, in all languages, ancient and modern, it would be but impoſture to pretend new diſcoveries, or to expect to offer any thing in a work of this kind, which has not been often anticipated by others. The facts which it relates have been an hundred times repeated, and every occurrence has been ſo variouſly conſidered, that learning can ſcarcely find a new anecdote, or genius give novelty to the old.

"I HOPE, therefore, for the reader's indulgence, if in the following attempt it ſhall appear, that my only aim was to ſupply a conciſe, plain, and unaffected narrative of the riſe and decline of a well known empire; I was contented to make ſuch a book, as could not fail of being ſerviceable, though, of all others, the moſt unlikely to promote the reputation of the writer. Inſtead, therefore, of preſſing forward among the ambitious, I only claim the merit of knowing my own ſtrength, and falling back among the hindmoſt ranks, and with conſcious inferiority.

"I AM not ignorant, however, that it would be no ſuch difficult taſk to purſue the ſame arts by which many dull men, every day, acquire a reputation in hiſtory; ſuch might eaſily be attained, by fixing on ſome obſcure period to write upon, where much ſeeming erudition might be diſplayed, almoſt unknown, becauſe not worth remembering; and many maxims in politics might be

be advanced entirely new, becauſe altogether falſe. But I have purſued a contrary method, chuſing the moſt noted periods in hiſtory, and offering no remarks but ſuch as I thought ſtrictly true.

"THE reaſons of my choice were, that we had no hiſtory of this ſplendid period in our language, but what was either too voluminous for common uſe, or too meanly written to pleaſe. Catrou and Rouille's Hiſtory, in ſix volumes folio, tranſlated into our language by Bundy, is entirely unſuited to the time and expence mankind uſually chuſe to beſtow upon this ſubject: Rollin, and his continuator, Crevier, making above thirty volumes octavo, ſeem to labour under the ſame imputation; as likewiſe Hooke, who has ſpent upon the republic alone ſix octavos *. There only, therefore, remained the Hiſtory by Echard, in five volumes octavo, whoſe plan and

* The ſeventh and eighth volumes of Hooke's Roman Hiſtory have lately been publiſhed, which complete his works.

and mine ſeemed to coincide; and had his execution been equal to his deſign, it had precluded the preſent undertaking. But the truth is, it is ſo poorly written, the facts ſo crowded, the narration ſo ſpiritleſs, and the characters ſo indiſtinctly marked, that the moſt ardent curioſity muſt cool in the peruſal: and the nobleſt tranſactions that ever warmed the human heart, as deſcribed by him, muſt ceaſe to intereſt.

"I HAVE endeavoured, therefore, in the preſent work (or rather compilation) to obviate the inconveniencies ariſing from the exuberance of the former, as well as from the unpleaſantneſs of the latter. Too much time may be given even to laudable purſuits, and there is none more apt than this, to allure the ſtudent from more neceſſary branches of learning, and, if I may ſo expreſs it, entirely to engroſs his induſtry. What is here offered, therefore, may be ſufficient for all but ſuch as make hiſtory the peculiar buſineſs of their lives; to ſuch, the moſt tedious narrative will ſeem but an abridgment,

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as they meaſure the merits of a work, rather by the quantity than the quality of its contents. Others, however, who think more ſoberly, will agree, that in ſo extenſive a field as that of the tranſactions of Rome, more judgment may be ſhewn, be ſelecting what is important; than by adding what is obſcure. The hiſtory of this empire has been extended to ſix volumes in folio; and, I aver, that, with very little learning, it might be encreaſed to ſixteen more; but what would this be, but to load the ſubject with unimportant facts, and ſo to weaken the narration, that, like the empire it deſcribed, it muſt neceſſarily ſink under the weight of its own acquiſitions!

"But while I thus have endeavoured to avoid prolixity, it was found no eaſy matter to prevent crowding the facts, and to give every narrative its proper play. In reality, no art can contrive to avoid oppoſite defects; he who indulges in minute particularities, will be often languid; and he who ſtudies conciſeneſs will as frequently be dry and unentertaining. As it was my aim to comprize

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as much as poſſible in the ſmalleſt compaſs, it is feared the work will often be ſubject to the latter imputation; but it was impoſſible to furniſh the public with a cheap Roman hiſtory, and at the ſame time to give all that warmth to the narrative, all thoſe colourings to the deſcription, which works of twenty times the bulk have room to exhibit. I ſhall be fully ſatisfied, therefore, if it furniſhes an intereſt ſufficient to allure the reader to the end; and this is a claim to which few abridgments can juſtly make pretenſions.

"To theſe objections, there are ſome who may add, that I have rejected many of the modern improvements in Roman hiſtory, and that every character is left in full poſſeſſion of that fame or infamy which it obtained from its cotemporaries, or thoſe who wrote immediately after. I acknowledge the charge, for it appears now too late to rejudge the virtues or the vices of thoſe men, who were but very incompletely known even to their own hiſtorians. The Romans, perhaps,

haps, upon many occaſions formed wrong ideas of virtue; but they were by no means ſo ignorant or abandoned in general, as not to give their brighteſt characters the greateſt ſhare of their applauſe; and I do not know whether it be fair, to try pagan actions by the ſtandard of Chriſtian morality.

"But, whatever may be my execution of this work, I have very little doubts about the ſucceſs of the undertaking; the ſubject is the nobleſt that ever employed human attention; and inſtead of requiring a writer's aid, will even ſupport him with its ſplendor. The empire of the world riſing from the meaneſt origin, and growing great by a ſtrict veneration for religion, and an implicit confidence in its commanders; continually changing the mode, but ſeldom the ſpirit of its government; being a conſtitution, in which the military power, whether under the name of citizens or ſoldiers, almoſt always prevailed; adopting all the improvements of other nations with the moſt indefatigable induſtry, and ſubmitting

ting to be taught by thoſe whom it afterwards ſubdued: this is a picture that muſt affect us, however we are diſpoſed; theſe materials muſt have their value, under the hand of the meaneſt workman."

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Commonwealth of Rome.

CHAPTER I.

Of the original of the Romans.

THE Romans were particularly desirous of being thought descended from the gods, as if to hide the meanness of their real ancestry. Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, having escaped from the destruction of Troy, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy [A. M. 2294], where he was kindly received by Latinus, king of the Latins, who gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Turnus, king of the Rutuli, was the first who opposed Æneas, he having long made pretensions to Lavinia himself. A war ensued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and Turnus slain. In consequence

of this, Æneas built a city, which was called Lavinium, in honour of his wife; and ſome time after, engaging in another war againſt Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquiſhed in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years.

Numitor, the fifteenth king in a direct line from Æneas, who took poſſeſſion of the kingdom in conſequence of his father's will, had a brother, named Amulius, to whom he left the treaſures which had been brought from Troy. As riches but too generally prevail againſt right, Amulius made uſe of his wealth to ſupplant his brother, and ſoon found means to poſſeſs himſelf of the kingdom. Not content with the crime of uſurpation, he added that of murder alſo. Numitor's ſons firſt fell a ſacrifice to his ſuſpicions; and to remove all apprehenſions of being one day diſturbed in his ill-got power, he cauſed Rhea Silvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a veſtal virgin; which office obliging her to perpetual celibacy, made him leſs uneaſy as to the claims of poſterity.

His precautions, however, were all fruſtrated in the event; for Rhea Silvia going to fetch water from a neighbouring grove, was met and raviſhed by a man, whom, perhaps to palliate her offence, ſhe averred to be Mars, the god of war. From this congreſs, ſhe was brought to bed of two boys, who were no ſooner born, than devoted, by the uſurper, to deſtruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the uſual puniſhment for veſtals who had violated their chaſtity, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river Tyber. It happened, at the time this rigorous ſentence was put into execution, that the river had more than uſually overflowed its banks, ſo that the place where the children were thrown being at a diſtance from the main current, the water was too ſhallow to drown them. In this ſituation, therefore, they continued without

without harm; and, that no part of their preſervation might want its wonders, we are told, that they were for ſome time ſuckled by a wolf, until Fauſtulus, the king's herdſman, finding them thus expoſed, brought them up as his own.

Romulus and Remus, the twins thus ſtrangely preſerved, ſeemed early to diſcover abilities and deſires above the meanneſs of their ſuppoſed original. The ſhepherd's life began to diſpleaſe them; and, from tending flocks, or hunting wild beaſts, they ſoon turned their ſtrength againſt the robbers round the country, whom they often ſtript of their plunder to ſhare it among their fellow ſhepherds. In one of theſe excurſions, Remus was taken priſoner by Numitor's herdſman, who brought him before the king, and accuſed him of being a plunderer. Romulus, however, being informed by Fauſtulus of his real birth, was not remiſs in aſſembling a number of his fellow ſhepherds, who beſet the uſurper on all ſides, who, during his amazement and diſtraction, was taken and ſlain; while Numitor, who had been depoſed forty-two years, recognized his grandſons, and was once more reſtored to the throne.

Numitor being thus in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, his grandſons reſolved to build a city upon thoſe hills where they had formerly lived as ſhepherds. Many of the neighbouring ſhepherds alſo, and ſuch as were fond of change, repaired to the intended city, and prepared to raiſe it. In order to proceed in this undertaking with all poſſible ſolemnity, the two brothers were adviſed by the king, to take an omen from the flight of birds, and that he whoſe omen ſhould be moſt favourable, ſhould in all reſpects direct the other. In compliance with this advice, they both took their ſtations upon different hills. To Remus appeared ſix vultures; to Romulus, twice that number: ſo that each party thought

itſelf victorious; the one having the firſt omen, the other the moſt complete. This produced a conteſt, which ended in a battle, wherein Remus was ſlain; and it is even ſaid, that he was killed by his brother; who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuouſly over the city wall, ſtruck him dead upon the ſpot.

Romulus, being now ſole commander, and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome, after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his ſucceſsful omen [A. M. 3252. ante c. 752.] The city was at firſt almoſt ſquare, containing about a thouſand houſes. It was near a mile in compaſs, and commanded a ſmall territory round it, of about eight miles over. However, ſmall as it appears, it was, notwithſtanding, worſe inhabited; and the firſt method made uſe of to increaſe its numbers, was the opening a ſanctuary for all malefactors, ſlaves, and ſuch as were deſirous of novelty; and theſe came in great multitudes, and contributed to encreaſe the number of our legiſlator's new ſubjects.

CHAP. II.

From the building of Rome to the death of Romulus.

SCARCE was the city raiſed above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving ſome form to their conſtitution. Romulus, by an act of great generoſity, left them at liberty to chuſe whom they would for their king; and they, in gratitude, concurred to elect their founder; he was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, ſovereign magiſtrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beſide a guard to attend his perſon, it was agreed

agreed that he ſhould be preceded wherever he went by twelve men, armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods, who were to ſerve as executioners of the law, and to impreſs his new ſubjects with an idea of his authority.

The ſenate, which was to act as counſellors to the king, was compoſed of an hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, conſiſting of men whoſe age, wiſdom or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow-ſubjects, and the king named the firſt ſenator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required his own abſence.

The plebeians, who compoſed the third part of the legiſlature, aſſumed to themſelves the power of authorizing thoſe laws which were paſſed by the king or the ſenate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magiſtrates, and even to the chuſing a king, were confirmed by ſuffrages in their aſſemblies.

The firſt care of the new created king, was to attend to the intereſts of religion, but the preciſe form of their worſhip is unknown. The greateſt part of the religion of that age conſiſted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their ſoothſayers, who pretended, from obſervations on the flight of birds and the entrails of beaſts, to direct the preſent, and to dive into futurity. Romulus by an expreſs law, commanded that no election ſhould be made, no enterprize undertaken, without firſt conſulting them.

Wives were forbid, upon any pretext whatſoever, to ſeparate from their huſbands; while, on the contrary, the huſband was empowered to repudiate the wife, and even in ſome caſes to put her to death. His laws between children and their parents were yet ſtill more ſevere; the father had entire power over his offſpring, both of fortune and life; he could ſell them or impriſon them at any time of their lives, or in any ſtations to which they were arrived.

After his endeavours by laws to regulate his ſubjects, he next gave orders to aſcertain their numbers. The whole amounted but to three thouſand foot, and about as many hundred horſemen, capable of bearing arms. Theſe, therefore, were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he aſſigned a different part of the city. Each of theſe tribes were ſubdivided into ten curiæ, or companies, conſiſting of an hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a prieſt, called curio, to perform the ſacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called duumviri, to diſtribute juſtice.

By theſe wiſe regulations each day added ſtrength to the new city; multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only ſeemed to want women to aſcertain its duration. In this exigence, Romulus, by the advice of the ſenate, ſent deputies among the Sabines his neighbours, entreating their alliance, and upon theſe terms offering to cement the moſt ſtrict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then conſidered as the moſt warlike people of Italy, rejected the propoſal with diſdain; Romulus therefore proclaimed a feaſt in honour of Neptune, throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the moſt magnificent preparations for it. Theſe feaſts were generally preceded by ſacrifices, and ended in ſhews of wreſtlers, gladiators, and chariot-courſes. The Sabines, as he had expected, were among the foremoſt who came to be ſpectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them to ſhare the pleaſure of the ſight. In the mean time the games began, and, while the ſtrangers were moſt intent upon the ſpectacle, a number of the Roman youth ruſhed in among them with drawn ſwords, ſeized the youngeſt and moſt beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents proteſted againſt this breach of hoſpitality; in vain the virgins themſelves at firſt oppoſed the attempts of their raviſhers;

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perſeverance and careſſes obtained thoſe favours which timidity at firſt denied; ſo that the betrayers, from being objects of averſion, ſoon became the partners of their deareſt affections.

A bloody war enſued. The cities of Cenina, Antemna and Cruſtumium were the firſt that reſolved to revenge the common cauſe, which the Sabines ſeemed too dilatory in purſuing. But all theſe, by making ſeparate inroads, became a more eaſy conqueſt to Romulus, who made the moſt merciful uſe of his victory; inſtead of deſtroying their towns, or leſſening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to ſerve as a frontier to repreſs more diſtant invaſions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the laſt, although the moſt formidable, who undertook to revenge the diſgrace his country had ſuffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, and, not content with a ſuperiority of forces, he added ſtratagem alſo. Tarpeia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as ſhe went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of large promiſes, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward ſhe engaged for, was what the ſoldiers wore on their arms, by which ſhe meant their bracelets. They, however, either miſtaking her meaning, or willing to puniſh her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and cruſhed her to death. The Sabines being thus poſſeſſed of the Capitoline, after ſome time, a general engagement enſued, which was renewed for ſeveral days, with almoſt equal ſucceſs, and neither could think of ſubmitting: it was in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, that the laſt engagement was fought between the Romans and the Sabines. The engagement was now become general, and the ſlaughter prodigious,

when the attention of both ſides was ſuddenly turned from the ſcene of horror before them to another; till at length the Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, with their hair looſe and their ornaments neglected, flew in between the combatants, regardleſs of their own danger, and with loud outcries implored their huſbands and their children to deſiſt. Upon this, the combatants, as if by mutual impulſe, let fall their weapons, an accommodation enſued, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius ſhould reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative, that an hundred Sabines ſhould be admitted into the ſenate, that the city ſhould ſtill retain its former name, but that the citizens ſhould be called Quirites, after Cures, the principal town of the Sabines, and that both nations being thus united, ſuch of the Sabines as choſe it, ſhould be admitted to live in and enjoy all the privileges of citizens in Rome. Tatius was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, for having protected ſome ſervants of his, who had plundered them and ſlain their ambaſſadors; ſo that by this accident Romulus once more ſaw himſelf ſole monarch of Rome.

Succeſſes like theſe produced an equal ſhare of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with thoſe limits which had been wiſely aſſigned to his power, he began to affect abſolute ſway, and to govern thoſe laws, to which he had himſelf formerly profeſſed implicit obedience. The ſenate was particularly diſpleaſed at his conduct, as they found themſelves only uſed as inſtruments to ratify the rigour of his commands. We are not told the preciſe manner which they employed to get rid of the tyrant; ſome ſay that he was torn in pieces in the ſenate-houſe; others, that he diſappeared while reviewing his army; certain it is, that from the ſecrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body,

they

they took occaſion to perſuade the multitude that he was taken up into heaven: thus him whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worſhip as a god. Romulus reigned thirty-ſeven years, and after his death had a temple built to him under the name of Quirinus.

CHAP. III.

From the death of Romulus to the death of Numa Pompilius, the ſecond king of Rome.

[U. C. 38.]

UPON the death of Romulus, the city ſeemed greatly divided in the choice of a ſucceſſor. The Sabines were for having a king choſen from their body, but the Romans could not bear the thoughts of advancing a ſtranger to the throne. In this perplexity the ſenators undertook to ſupply the place of the king, by taking the government, each of them in turn, for five days, and during that time enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. This new form of government continued for a year, but the plebeians, who ſaw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their maſters, inſiſted upon altering that mode of government. The ſenate being thus driven to an election, at length pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, and their choice was received with univerſal approbation by the people.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his juſtice, moderation, and exemplary life He was ſkilled in all the learning and philoſophy of the Sabines, and lived at home at Cures, contented with a private fortune, unambitious of higher honours. It was not, therefore, without reluctance, that he accepted the dignity, which when he did, it produced ſuch joy,

that the people ſeemed not ſo much to receive a king as a kingdom.

No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa, at a conjuncture when the government was compoſed of various petty ſtates lately ſubdued, and but ill united among each other: they wanted a maſter who could by his laws and precepts ſoften their fierce diſpoſitions, and by his example induce them to a love of religion, and every milder virtue.

Numa's whole time therefore was ſpent in inſpiring his ſubjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, inſtituted ſacred offices and feaſts; and the ſanctity of his life gave him credit enough to perſuade his people, that he had a particular correſpondence with the goddeſs Egeria. By her advice he built the temple of Janus, which was to be ſhut in time of peace, and open in war; he ordained veſtal virgins, who, being four in number, had very great privileges allowed them.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided thoſe lands which Romulus had gained in war, among the poorer part of the people; he regulated the kalender, and aboliſhed the diſtinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their ſeveral tribes, and compelling them to live together. Thus having arrived at the age of fourſcore years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a ſtone coffin, contrary to the cuſtom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which conſiſted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried by his ſide in another.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the death of Numa to the death of Tullus Hoſtilius, the third king of Rome.

[U. C. 82.]

UPON the death of Numa, the government once more devolved upon the ſenate, and continued till the people elected Tullus Hoſtilius for their king, which choice had alſo the concurrence of the other part of the conſtitution. This monarch, who was grandſon to a noble Roman, who had formerly ſignalized himſelf againſt the Sabines, was every way unlike his predeceſſor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterprize, than even the founder of the empire himſelf had been; ſo that he only ſought a pretext for leading his forces into the field.

The Albans were the firſt people who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. The forces of theſe two ſtates met about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their reſpective kingdoms; for almoſt every battle in theſe times was deciſive. The two armies were for ſome time drawn out in array, awaiting the ſignal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful ſuſpenſe, when an unexpected propoſal from the Alban general put a ſtop to the onſet. Stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans a choice of deciding the diſpute by ſingle combat; adding, that the ſide whoſe champion was overcome, ſhould ſubmit to the conqueror. A propoſal like this ſuited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his ſubjects, each of which hoped, that he himſelf ſhould be choſen to fight the cauſe of his country. There were at that time three twin brothers in each army, thoſe of the Romans were called Horatii, and thoſe of the Albans Curiatii, all ſix remarkable for their courage, ſtrength, and activity,

and

and to theſe it was reſolved to commit the management of the combat. At length the champions met in combat together, and each totally regardleſs of his own ſafety, only ſought the deſtruction of his opponent. The ſpectators, in horrid ſilence, trembled at every blow, and wiſhed to ſhare the danger, till fortune ſeemed to decide the glory of the field. Victory, that had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare againſt the Romans; they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, who were wounded, ſlowly endeavouring to purſue the ſurvivor, who ſeemed by flight to beg for mercy. Soon however they perceived, that his flight was only pretended, in order to ſeparate his antagoniſts, whom he was unable to oppoſe united; for quickly after, ſtopping his courſe, and turning upon him who followed moſt cloſely behind he laid him dead at his feet; the ſecond brother, who came on to aſſiſt him who was fallen, only ſhared the ſame fate; and now there remained but the laſt Curiatius to conquer, who, fatigued and quite diſabled with his wounds, ſlowly came up to offer an eaſy victory. He was killed, almoſt unreſiſting, while the conqueror offered him as a victim to the ſuperiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army conſented to obey.

But none of the virtues that age were without alloy: the very hand that in the morning was exerted to ſave his country, was before night embrued in the blood of a ſiſter. For returning triumphant from the field, it raiſed his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loſs of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to whom ſhe was betrothed. This provoked him beyond the power of ſufferance, ſo that he ſlew her in a rage. This action greatly diſpleaſed the ſenate, and drew on the condemnation of the magiſtrates, but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people.

Hoſtilius

Hoſtilius died after a reign of thirty two years; ſome ſay by lightning, others, with more probability, by treaſon.

CHAP. V.

From the death of Tullus Hoſtilius, to the death of Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome.

[U. C. 115.]

AFTER an interregnum, as in the former caſe, Ancus Martius, the grandſon of Numa, was elected king by the people, and the choice afterwards was confirmed by the ſenate. As this monarch was a lineal deſcendant from Numa, ſo he ſeemed to make him the great object of his imitation. He inſtituted the ſacred ceremonies which were to precede a declaration of war; he took every occaſion to adviſe his ſubjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and to lay aſide the leſs uſeful ſtratagems of war.

Theſe inſtitutions and precepts were conſidered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than wiſdom. The Latins therefore began to make incurſions upon his territories, but their ſucceſs was equal to their juſtice: Ancus conquered the Latins, deſtroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and encreaſed his territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled alſo an inſurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volſci, and over the Sabines he obtained a ſecond triumph.

But his victories over the enemy were by no means comparable to his works at home, in raiſing temples, fortifying the city, making a priſon for malefactors, and building a ſea port at the mouth of the Tyber, called Oſtia, by which he ſecured to his ſubjects the trade of that river, and that of the ſalt-pits adjacent. Thus, having enriched his ſubjects, and beautified the city, he died, after a reign of twenty-four years.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the death of Ancus Martius to the death of Tarquinius Priſcus, the fifth king of Rome.

[U. C. 138.]

LUCIUS Tarquinius Priſcus, whoſe original name was Lucumon, and who was appointed guardian to the ſons of the late king, took the ſurname of Tarquinius, from the city of Tarquinia, from whence he laſt came. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired conſiderable wealth by trade, and had ſettled in Italy upon account of ſome troubles at home. His ſon Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinia; and, as his birth, profeſſion and country were contemptible to the nobles of the place, by his wife's perſuaſions, he came to ſettle at Rome, where merit only made diſtinction. On his way thither, ſay the hiſtorians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, ſtooping from above, took off his hat, and flying round his chariot for ſome time, with much noiſe, put it on again. This, his wife Tanaquil, who it ſeems was ſkilled in augury, interpreted as a preſage, that he ſhould one day wear the crown, and perhaps it was this which firſt fired his ambition to purſue it.

Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as uſual, devolving upon the ſenate, Tarquin uſed all his power and arts to ſet aſide the children of the late king, and to get himſelf elected in their ſtead. For this purpoſe, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them ſent out of the city; and in a ſet ſpeech to the people, in which he urged his friendſhip for them, the fortune he had ſpent among them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himſelf for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be conteſted,

ed, it had the desired effect, and the people, with one consent, elected him as their sovereign.

A kingdom, thus got by intrigue, was notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompense his friends, he added an hundred members more to the senate, which made them, in all, three hundred.

But his peaceful endeavours were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had risen once more, and had passed over the river Tyber; but Tarquin, attacking them with vigour, routed their army; so that many who escaped the sword, were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory, even before the messengers could arrive that were sent with the tidings. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, tho' without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let his subjects corrupt in indolence, but undertook and perfected several public works for the convenience and embellishment of the city.

In his time also the augurs came into a great increase of reputation, and he found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people, as this was in fact but to increase their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius Nævius was the most celebrated adept of the kind, that was ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occasion, Tarquin being resolved to try the augur's skill, asked him, whether, what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected. Nævius, having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed

ed that it might: "Why then," cries the king, with an inſulting ſmile, "I had thoughts of cutting "this whetſtone with a razor." "Cut boldly," replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome, without conſulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation.

Tarquin was not content with a kingdom without alſo the enſigns of royalty; in imitation of the Lydian kings, he aſſumed a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a ſceptre with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the ſplendor of theſe royalties, that firſt raiſed the envy of the late king's ſons, who had now for above thirty-ſeven years quietly ſubmitted to his government. His deſign alſo of adopting Servius Tullius, his ſon-in-law, for his ſucceſſor, might have contributed to inflame their reſentment. Whatever was the cauſe of their tardy vengeance, they reſolved to deſtroy him; and at laſt found means to effect their purpoſe, by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to ſpeak with the king, pretending that they came for juſtice, ſtruck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the perſon of the king, ſeized the murderers, who were attempting to eſcape; they were put to death; but the ſons of Ancus, who were the inſtigators, found ſafety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, ſurnamed Priſcus, to diſtinguiſh him from one of his ſucceſſors, of the ſame name, aged fifty-ſix years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

From the death of Tarquinius Priſcus, to the death of Servius Tullius, the ſixth king of Rome.

[U. C. 179.]

THE report of the murder of Tarquin filled all his ſubjects with complaint and indignation, while the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the aſſaſſins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, conſidering the danger ſhe muſt incur, in caſe the conſpirators ſhould ſucceed to the crown; and deſirous of having her ſon-in-law for his ſucceſſor, with great art diſſembled her ſorrow as well as the king's death. She aſſured the people, from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed, but ſtunned by the blow; that he would ſhortly recover; and that, in the mean time, he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his ſon-in-law. Servius, accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, iſſued from the palace, adorned with the enſigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, and went to diſpatch ſome affairs that related to the public ſafety; ſtill pretending, that he took all his inſtructions from the king. This ſcene of diſſimulation continued for ſome days, till he had made his party good among the nobles; when the death of Tarquin being publicly aſcertained, Servius came to the crown, ſolely at the ſenate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the ſuffrages of the people.

Servius was the ſon of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the ſacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born while his mother was a ſlave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame

is ſaid to have played round his head, which Tanaquil converted into an omen of his future greatneſs.

Upon being acknowledged as king, the chief object of his reign was to encreaſe the power of the ſenate, by depreſſing that of the people. The populace, who were unable to ſee into his deſigns, conferred upon him a full power of ſettling the taxes as he ſhould think proper. And accordingly, as he inſiſted that they ſhould pay their taxes by centuries, he commanded that they ſhould give their votes, in all public tranſactions, by centuries alſo. In former deliberations each citizen gave his ſuffrage ſingly, and the numbers of the poor always carried it againſt the power of the rich; but by the regulations of Servius, the ſenate was made to conſiſt of a greater number of centuries, than all the other claſſes put together, and thus entirely out-weighed them in every contention.

In order to aſcertain the increaſe or decay of his ſubjects and their fortunes, he inſtituted another regulation, which he called a luſtrum. By this all the citizens were to aſſemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, in their reſpective claſſes, once in five years, and there to give an exact account of their families and fortune.

Having thus enjoyed a long reign, ſpent in ſettling the domeſtic policy of the ſtate, and alſo not inattentive to foreign concerns, he received reaſonable hopes of concluding it with tranquility and eaſe. He had even thoughts of laying down his power, and, having formed the kingdom into a republic, to retire into obſcurity; but ſo generous a deſign was fruſtrated, ere it could be put in execution.

In the beginning of his reign, to ſecure his throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandſons of Tarquin; and as he knew that the women were of oppoſite diſpoſitions, as well as their intended huſbands, he reſolved to croſs their tempers, by giving them to him of a contrary

trary turn of temper; her that was meek and gentle, to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character; by this he ſuppoſed, that each would correct the failings of the other, and that the mixture would be productive only of concord. The event however proved otherwiſe. Lucius, his haughty ſon-in-law, ſoon grew diſpleaſed with the meekneſs of his conſort, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother's wife, who anſwered his paſſion with ſympathetic ardour. As their wiſhes were ungovernable, they ſoon reſolved to break through every reſtraint that offered to prevent their union; both undertook to murder their conſorts, which they effected, and were accordingly ſoon after married together. A firſt crime ever produces a ſecond; from the deſtruction of their conſorts, they proceeded to conſpire that of the king. They began by raiſing factions againſt him, alledging his illegal title to the crown, and Lucius by claiming it as his own, as heir to Tarquin. At length when he found the ſenate ripe for ſeconding his views, he entered the ſenate-houſe, adorned with all the enſigns of royalty, and placing himſelf upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obſcurity of the king's birth, and the injuſtice of his title. While he was yet ſpeaking, Servius entered attended by a few followers, and ſeeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to puſh the uſurper from his ſeat; but Tarquin being in the vigour of youth, threw the old man down the ſteps which led to the throne; and ſome of his adherents, being inſtructed for that purpoſe, followed the king, as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and diſpatched him by the way, throwing his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public ſpectacle into the ſtreet. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, was in-

informed of what her huſband had done, and reſolving to be among the firſt who ſhould ſalute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to the ſenate-houſe: But as her charioteer approached the place where the old king her father's body lay expoſed and bloody, the man, all amazed at the inhuman ſpectacle, and not willing to trample upon it with his horſes, offered to turn another way; this only ſerved to increaſe the fierceneſs of her anger; ſhe threw the foot ſtool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the dead body without heſitation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, after an uſeful and proſperous reign of forty-four years.

CHAP. VIII.

From the death of Servius Tullius, to the baniſhment of Tarquinius Superbus, the ſeventh and laſt king of Rome.

[U. C. 220.]

LUCIUS Tarquinius, afterwards called Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himſelf upon the throne, in conſequence of this violent attempt, was reſolved to ſupport his dignity with the ſame violence with which it was acquired. Regardleſs of the ſenate or the people's approbation, he ſeemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refuſed the late king's body burial, under pretence of his being an uſurper. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon his acceſſion with deteſtation and horror; and this act of inefficient cruelty only ſerved to confirm their hatred. Conſcious of this, he ordered all ſuch as he ſuſpected to have been attached to Servius, to be put to death; and fearing the natural conſequences of his tyranny, he encreaſed the guard round his perſon. His

His chief policy ſeems to have been to keep the people always employed either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown. He firſt marched againſt the Sabines, who refuſed to pay him obedience, and ſoon reduced them to ſubmiſſion. He next began a war with the Volſci, which continued for ſome ages after. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for having attempted, with ſome loſs, to beſiege it, he was obliged to direct his efforts by ſtratagem, contrary to the uſual practice of the Romans. He cauſed his ſon Sextus to counterfeit deſertion, upon pretence of barbarous uſage, and to ſeek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and ſtudied lamentations, he ſo prevailed on the pity of the people, as to be choſen their governor, and ſoon after general of their army. At firſt, in every engagement, he appeared ſucceſsful, till at length, finding himſelf entirely poſſeſſed of the confidence of the ſtate, he ſent a truſty meſſenger to his father for inſtructions. Tarquin made no other anſwer than by taking the meſſenger into the garden, where he cut down before him the talleſt poppies. Sextus readily underſtood the meaning of this reply, and, one by one, found means to deſtroy or remove the principal men of the city, ſtill taking care to confiſcate their effects among the people. The charms of this dividend kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themſelves at laſt, without counſellors or head; and in the end, fell under the power of Tarquin, without even ſtriking a blow. After this, he made a league with the Æqui, and renewed that with the Etrurians.

But while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to ſuffer the people to continue in idleneſs at home. He undertook to build the capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign, and

and an extraordinary event contributed to haſten the execution of his deſign. A woman, in a ſtrange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king, offering to ſell nine books, which ſhe ſaid were of her own compoſing. Not knowing the abilities of the ſeller, or that ſhe was, in fact, one of the celebrated ſybils, whoſe prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refuſed to buy them. Upon this ſhe departed, and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the ſame price for the ſix remaining. Being once more deſpiſed as an impoſtor, ſhe again departed, and burning three more, ſhe returned with thoſe remaining, ſtill aſking the ſame price as at firſt. Tarquin, ſurpriſed at the inconſiſtency of her behaviour, conſulted the augurs, to adviſe him what to do. Theſe much blamed him for not buying the nine, and commanded him to buy the three remaining, at whatſoever price they were to be had. The woman, ſays the hiſtorian, after thus ſelling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and adviſing him to have a ſpecial attention to what they contained, vaniſhed from before him, and was never ſeen after. Upon this he choſe proper perſons to keep them, who, though but two firſt, were afterwards encreaſed to fifteen, under the name of quindecemviri. They were put into a ſtone cheſt, and a vault in the newly deſigned building was thought the propereſt place to lodge them in ſafety. The people having been now for four years together employed in building the capitol, began, at laſt, to wiſh for ſomething new to engage them; wherefore Tarquin, to ſatisfy their wiſhes, proclaimed war againſt the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained ſome malefactors whom he had baniſhed, and inveſted their chief city Ardea, which lay about ſixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's ſon Sextus, with Collatinus a noble Roman, and

ſome

ſome others, ſat in a tent drinking together: the diſcourſe happening to turn upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man praiſing his own, Collatinus offered to decide the diſpute, by putting it to an immediate trial, whoſe wife would be found poſſeſſed of the greateſt beauty, and moſt ſedulouſly employed at that very hour. Being heated with wine, the propoſal was reliſhed by the whole company; and taking horſe without delay, they poſted to Rome, tho' the night was already pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like the other women of the age, ſpending the time in eaſe and luxury, but ſpinning in the midſt of her maids, and chearfully portioning out their taſks. Her modeſt beauty, and the eaſy reception ſhe gave her huſband and his friends, ſo charmed them all, that they unanimouſly gave her the preference; and Sextus was ſo much inflamed, that nothing but enjoyment could ſatisfy his paſſion.

For that purpoſe he went from the camp to viſit her privately a few days after, and received the ſame kind reception which he had met with before. As his intentions were not ſuſpected, Lucretia ſate with him at ſupper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him in the houſe. Midnight was the time in which this ruffian thought it ſafe to put his deſigns in execution. Having found means to convey himſelf into her chamber, he approached her bed-ſide with a drawn ſword, and rudely laying his hand upon her boſom, threatened her with inſtant death if ſhe offered to reſiſt his paſſion. Lucretia affrighted out of her ſleep, and ſeeing death ſo near, was yet inexorable to his deſire, till being told, that, if ſhe would not yield, he would firſt kill her, and then laying his own ſlave alſo dead by her ſide, he would report, that he had found and killed them both, in the act of adultery. The terror of infamy atchieved what that of death could not obtain; ſhe conſented

to

to his desire, and the next morning he returned to the camp, exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time, Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to pardon herself for the crime of another, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius, her father, to come to her, as an indelible disgrace had befallen the family. These instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. Their arrival only served to increase Lucretia's poignant anguish; they found her in a state of stedfast desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief. "No, "(said she) never shall I find any thing worth living "for in this life, after having lost my honour. You "see me, Collatinus, a polluted wretch before you; "one whose person has been the spoil of another, "but whose affections were never estranged from "you. Sextus, under the pretended veil of friend-"ship, has this night forced from me that treasure "which death only can restore; but if you have the "hearts of men, remember to avenge my cause, "and let posterity know, that she who has lost her "virtue, hath only death for her best consolation." So saying, she drew a poignard from beneath her robe, and instantly plunging it into her bosom, expired without a groan. The whole company remained for some time, fixed in sorrow, pity, and indignation; Spurius and Collatinus, at length gave vent to their grief in tears; but Brutus, drawing the poignard reeking from Lucretia's wound, and lifting it up towards Heaven, "Be witness, ye gods," he cried, "that "from this moment I proclaim myself the avenger of "the chaste Lucretia's cause: from this moment I pro-"fess myself the enemy of Tarquin, and his lustful "house: from henceforth this life, while life continues, "shall be employed in opposition to tyranny, and for

"the

" the happineſs and freedom of my much loved " country." A new amazement ſeized the hearers, to find him, whom they had hitherto conſidered as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of juſtice, and of Rome. He told them, that tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance called ſo loud; and delivering the poignard to the reſt, impoſed the ſame oath upon them which he himſelf had juſt taken.

Junius Brutus was the ſon of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who was married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priſcus; and for that reaſon, thro' a motive of jealouſy, was put to death by Tarquin the Proud. This Junius Brutus had received an excellent education from his father, and had, from nature, ſtrong ſenſe, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but perceiving that Tarquin had privily murdered his father and his eldeſt brother, he counterfeited himſelf a fool, in order to eſcape the ſame danger, and thence obtained the ſurname of Brutus. Tarquin thinking his folly real, deſpiſed the man; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of his eſtate, kept him as an idiot in his houſe, merely with a view of making ſport for his children.

Brutus, however, only waited this opportunity to avenge the cauſe of his family. Wherefore, ordering Lucretia's dead body to be brought out to view, and expoſed in the public forum, he enflamed the ardour of the citizens by a diſplay of the horrid tranſaction. He obtained a decree of the ſenate, that Tarquin and his family ſhould be for ever baniſhed from Rome, and that it ſhould be capital for any to plead for, or attempt his future return. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Cira, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time, the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

CHAP. IX.

From the baniſhment of Tarquin to the appointment of the firſt dictator.

[U. C. 245.]

THE regal power being overthrown, a form of government, nominally republican, was ſubſtituted in its room. The ſenate, however, reſerved by far the greateſt ſhare of the authority to themſelves, and decorated their own body with all the ſpoils of depoſed monarchy. The centuries of the people choſe from among the ſenators, inſtead of a king, two annual magiſtrates, whom they called conſuls, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the ſame privileges and the ſame enſigns of authority.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus, the huſband of Lucretia, were choſen firſt conſuls in Rome.

But this new republic, however, which ſeemed ſo grateful to the people, had like to have been deſtroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the ſtate, who had been educated about the king, and had ſhared in all the luxuries and pleaſures of the court, undertook to reeſtabliſh monarchy. This party ſecretly encreaſed every day; and, what may create our ſurprize, the ſons of Brutus himſelf, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin, who was informed of theſe intrigues in his favour, ſent ambaſſadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown; but in reality, with a deſign to give ſpirit to his faction. But the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered by a ſlave who had accidentally hid himſelf in the room where the conſpirators ſued to aſſemble. Few ſituations could have been more terribly affecting than that of Brutus, a father,

placed

placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children; impelled by juſtice to condemn, and by nature to ſpare them. The young men accuſed, pleaded nothing for themſelves; but, with conſcious guilt, awaited their ſentence in ſilence and agony. The other judges, who were preſent, felt all the pangs of nature: Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repreſs his ſentiments of pity. Brutus, alone, ſeemed to have loſt all the ſoftneſs of humanity, and, with a ſtern countenance and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy reſolution, demanded of his ſons, if they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three ſeveral times; but receiving no anſwer, he, at length, turned himſelf to the executioner." Now," cried he," it is your part to perform the reſt." Thus ſaying, he again reſumed his ſeat, with an air of determined majeſty; nor could all the ſentiments of paternal pity, nor all the imploring looks of the people, nor yet the complaints of the young men, who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his reſolution. The executioners having ſtripped them naked, and then whipped them with rods, preſently after beheaded them; Brutus, all the time, beholding the cruel ſpectacle with a ſteady look and unaltered countenance, while the multitude gazed on with all the ſenſations of pity, terror, and admiration.

All Tarquin's hopes of an inſurrection in the city in his favour being thus overthrown, he was now reſolved to force himſelf upon his former throne by foreign aſſiſtance, and to that end prevailed upon the Veians to aſſiſt him, and with a conſiderable army advanced towards Rome.

The conſuls were not remiſs in preparations to oppoſe him. Valerius commanded the foot, and Brutus being appointed to head the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman bor- U.C. 246.

ders. Aruns, the ſon of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, ſeeing Brutus at a diſtance, was reſolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day before the engaging of the armies; wherefore ſpurring on his horſe, he made towards him with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach, ſingled out from the ranks to meet him, and both met with ſuch rage, that, eager only to aſſail, and thoughtleſs of defending, they both fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle enſued, with equal ſlaughter on both ſides; but the Romans remaining in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, claimed the victory; in conſequence, Valerius returned in triumph to Rome.

In the mean time, Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, prevailed upon Porſenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to eſpouſe his cauſe, and in perſon undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally noted for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid ſiege to the city, while the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with diſmay. The ſiege was carried on with vigour: a furious attack was made upon the place: the two conſuls oppoſed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans flying in great conſternation, were purſued by the enemy to the bridge, over which both victors and vanquiſhed were about to enter the city in the confuſion. All now appeared loſt and over, when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as centinel to defend it, oppoſed himſelf to the torrent of the enemy, and, aſſiſted only by two more, for ſome time ſuſtained the whole fury of the aſſault, till the bridge was broken down behind him: when he found the communication thus cut off, plunging with his arms into the torrent of the Tyber, he ſwam back victorious to his fellow-ſoldiers, and was received with juſt applauſe.

Still,

Still, however, Porſenna was determined upon taking the city; and, tho' five hundred of his men were ſlain in a ſally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greateſt ſtraights; and turning the ſiege into a blockade, reſolved to take it by famine. The diſtreſs of the beſieged ſoon began to be inſufferable, and all things ſeemed to threaten a ſpeedy ſurrender, when another act of fierce bravery, ſtill ſuperior to that which had ſaved the city before, again procured its ſafety and freedom.

Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, was reſolved to rid his country of an enemy, that ſo ſorely continued to oppreſs it; and for this purpoſe, diſguiſed in the habit of an Etrurian peaſant, entered the camp of the enemy, reſolving to die or to kill the king. With this reſolution he made up to the place where Porſenna was paying his troops, with a ſecretary by his ſide; but miſtaking the latter for the king, he ſtabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended, and brought back into the royal preſence. Upon Porſenna's demanding who he was, and the cauſe of ſo heinous an action, Mutius, without reſerve, informed him of his country and his deſign, and at the ſame time thruſting his right hand into a fire that was burning upon an altar before him, "You ſee," cried he, "how "little I regard the ſevereſt puniſhment your cruelty "can inflict upon me. A Roman knows not only "how to act, but to ſuffer: I am not the only per-"ſon you have to fear; three hundred Roman "youth, like me, have conſpired your deſtruction; "therefore, prepare for their attempts." Porſenna, amazed at ſo much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit, tho' found in an enemy; he therefore ordered him to be ſafely conducted back to Rome, and offered the beſieged conditions of peace. Theſe were readily accepted on their ſide, being neither hard nor diſgraceful, except that twen-

ty hoſtages were demanded; ten young men, and as many virgins, of the beſt families in Rome. But even in this inſtance alſo, as if the gentler ſex were reſolved to be ſharers in the deſperate valour of the times, Clelia, one of the hoſtages, eſcaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the reſt of her female companions, ſwam over the Tyber on horſeback, amidſt ſhowers of darts from the enemy, and preſented herſelf to the conſul. This magiſtrate, fearing the conſequences of detaining her, had her ſent back; upon which, Porſenna, not to be outdone in generoſity, not only gave her liberty, but permitted her to chuſe ſuch of the hoſtages, of the oppoſite ſex, as ſhe ſhould think fit to attend her. On her part, ſhe, with all the modeſty of a Roman virgin, choſe only ſuch as were under fourteen, alledging, that their tender age was leaſt capable of ſuſtaining the rigours of ſlavery.

Tarquin, by means of his ſon-in-law Manilius, once more ſtirred up the Latins to eſpouſe his intereſt, and took the moſt convenient opportunity, when the plebeians were at variance with the ſenators concerning the payment of their debts. Theſe refuſed to go to war unleſs their debts were remitted upon their return; ſo that the conſuls, finding their authority inſufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magiſtrate, who ſhould have abſolute power, not only over all ranks of the ſtate, but even over the laws themſelves. To this the plebeians readily conſented, willing to give up their own power, for the ſake of abridging that of their ſuperiors. In conſequence of this, Largius was created the firſt Dictator of Rome, for ſo was this high office called, being nominated to it by his colleague in the conſulſhip. Thus the people, who could not bear to hear the name of a king even mentioned, readily ſubmitted to a magiſtrate poſſeſſed of much greater power: ſo much do the names of things miſlead us, and ſo little

is any form of government irkſome to people when it coincides with their prejudices.

CHAP. X.

From the creation of the firſt dictator, to the election of the tribunes of the people.

[U. C. 255.]

LARGIUS being now created dictator, entered upon his office, ſurrounded with his lictors and all the enſigns of ancient royalty, and ſeated upon a throne in the midſt of the people, ordered the levies to be made, in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terror upon a magiſtrate whom they had inveſted with uncontroulable power, and peaceably went each to range himſelf under his reſpective ſtandard. Thus going forth to oppoſe the enemy, he returned with his army, and, before his ſix months were expired, laid down the dictatorſhip, with the reputation of having exerciſed it with blameleſs lenity.

But, tho' for this time the people ſubmitted to be led forth, yet they were reſolved, at laſt, to free themſelves from the yoke of their ſevere maſters; and, tho' they could not get their complaints redreſſed, yet they determined to fly from thoſe whom they could not move to compaſſion. The complaints, therefore, continuing, they reſolved to quit a city which gave them no ſhelter, and to form a new eſtabliſhment without its limits. They, therefore, under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius Bellutus, retired to a mountain, from thence called the Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, within about three miles from Rome.

Upon the news of this defection, the city was filled with tumult and conſternation; thoſe who wiſhed well to the army made all the attempts they could to ſcale the walls, in order to join it. The ſenate was

not leſs agitated than the reſt: ſome were for violent meaſures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion, that gentler arts were to be uſed, and that even a victory over ſuch enemies would be worſe than a defeat. At length, therefore, it was reſolved to ſend a meſſenger, entreating the army to return home and declare their grievances, promiſing at the ſame time, an oblivion of all that had paſſed.

This meſſage not ſucceeding, Menenius Agrippa, one of the wiſeſt and beſt of the ſenators, was of opinion, that the people were to be complied with.

It was reſolved, therefore to enter into a treaty with the people, and to make them ſuch offers as ſhould induce them to return. Ten commiſſioners were accordingly deputed, at the head of whom were Largius and Valerius, who had been dictators, and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved by the ſenate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of theſe ambaſſadors procured them a very reſpectable reception among the ſoldiers, and a long conference began between them. Largius and Valerius employed all their oratory on the one hand; while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were the ſpokeſmen of the ſoldiery, aggravated their diſtreſſes, with all that maſculine eloquence which is the child of nature. The conference had now continued for a long time, when Menenius Agrippa, who had been originally a plebeian himſelf, a ſhrewd man, and who, conſequently, knew what kind of eloquence was moſt likely to pleaſe the people, addreſſed them with that celebrated fable, which is ſo finely told us by Livy. "In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itſelf, and each had a ſeparate will of its own, they all, with common conſent, reſolved to revolt againſt the belly: they knew no reaſon, they ſaid, why they ſhould toil from morning till night in its ſervice, while the belly, in the mean time, lay at its eaſe in the midſt of them all, and indolently grew fat upon

upon their labours: accordingly, one and all, they agreed to befriend it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred they would not chew a morſel of meat, tho' it were placed between them. Thus reſolved, they all, for ſome time, ſhewed their ſpirit, and kept their word; but ſoon they found, that, inſtead of mortifying the belly by theſe means, they only undid themſelves; they languiſhed for a while, and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the belly, that they had ſtrength to work or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an inſtantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimouſly cried out, that Agrippa ſhould lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius, beforementioned, with-held them; alledging, that, tho' they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the ſenate, yet they had no ſafeguard for the future againſt their reſentment; that, therefore, it was neceſſary for the ſecurity of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themſelves, who ſhould have power to give ſuch of them as ſhould be injured, redreſs, and plead the cauſe of the community.

The people, who are ever of opinion with the laſt ſpeaker, highly applauded this propoſal, which yet the commiſſioners had not power to comply with; they, therefore, ſent to Rome to take the inſtructions of the ſenate; who, worried with diviſions among themſelves, and harraſſed by complaints from without, were reſolved to have peace, at whatſoever price it ſhould be obtained; accordingly, as if with one voice, they conſented to the creation of their new officers, who were called TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, Appius alone proteſting with vehemence againſt the meaſure.

The tribunes of the people were at first five in number, tho' afterwards their body was encreased by five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and almost always from their body. They at first had their seats placed before the doors of the senate-house, and, being called in, they were to examine every decree, annulling it by the word VETO (I forbid it;) or confirming it by signing the letter T, which gave it its validity. This new office being thus instituted, Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga were the first tribunes chosen by the suffrages of the people. The senate also made an edict confirming the abolition of debts: and now all things being adjusted, both on the one side and the other, the people, after having sacrificed to the Gods of the mountain, returned back once more in triumph to Rome.

CHAP. XI.

From the creation of the tribunes to the appointment of the decemviri.

[U. C. 260.]

DURING the late separation, all tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the consequence the ensuing season. The senate did all that lay in their power to remedy the distress; but the people, pinched with want, and willing to throw the blame on any but themselves, ascribed the whole of their distress to the avarice of the patricians; who, having purchased all the corn, as was alledged, intended to indemnify themselves for the abolition of debts, by selling it out to great advantage. But abundance, soon after, appeased them for a time. A large fleet of ships laden with corn from Sicily (a great part of which was a present from Gelon, the king of that country, to the Romans, and the rest purchased by the senate with the publick money) raised their spirits once more.

But

But Coriolanus incurred their reſentment, by inſiſting that it ſhould not be diſtributed till the grievances of the ſenate were removed. For this, the tribunes ſummoned him to a trial before the people.

When the appointed day was come, all perſons were filled with the greateſt expectations, and a vaſt concourſe from the adjacent country aſſembled and filled up the Forum. Coriolanus, upon this, preſented himſelf before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His graceful perſon, his perſuaſive eloquence, the cries of thoſe whom he had ſaved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. But, being unable to anſwer what was alledged againſt him to the ſatisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with a new charge, of having embezzled the plunder of Antium, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

This ſentence againſt their braveſt defender, ſtruck the whole body of the ſenate with ſorrow, conſternation, and regret. Coriolanus alone, in the midſt of the tumult, ſeemed an unconcerned ſpectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the moſt reſpectable ſenators and citizens of Rome, to take a laſting leave of his wife, his children, and his mother Veturia. Thus recommending his little children to their care, and all to the care of Heaven, he left the city, without followers or fortune, to take refuge with Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volſcians, who took him under his protection, and eſpouſed his quarrel.

The firſt thing to be done, was, to induce the Volſci to break the league which had been made with Rome; and for this purpoſe Tullus ſent many of his citizens thither, in order to ſee ſome games at that time celebrating; but in the mean time gave the ſenate private information, that the ſtrangers had

dangerous

dangerous intentions of burning the city. This had the desired effect; the senate issued an order, that all strangers, whoever they were, should depart from Rome before sun-set. This order Tullus represented to his countrymen, as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed; declaring war in case of a refusal: but this message was treated by the senate with contempt.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were made generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the plebeians, but letting those of the senators remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome; the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general, whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also shewed their fears, and slowly brought in their succours; so that Coriolanus continued to take their towns one after the other. Fortune followed him in every expedition, and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless, to follow him into the field. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length invested the city of Rome itself, fully resolved to besiege it. It was then that the senate and the people unanimously agreed to send deputies to him with proposals of restoration, in case he should draw off his army. Coriolanus received their proposals at the head of his principal officers, and, with the sternness of a general that was to give the law, refused their offers.

Another

Another embaſſy was now ſent forth, conjuring him not to exact from his native city, aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally inflexible and ſevere, ſtill perſiſted in his former demands, and granted them but three days, in which to finiſh their deliberations. In this exigence, all that was left, was another deputation ſtill more ſolemn than either of the former, compoſed of the pontiffs, the prieſts, and the augurs. Theſe, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, iſſued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror: but all in vain, they found him ſevere and inflexible as before.

When the people ſaw them return ineffectually, they began to give up the commonwealth as loſt. Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children, who, proſtrate at their altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preſervation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguiſh and lamentation, nothing to be ſeen but ſcenes of affright and diſtreſs. At length, it was ſuggeſted to them, that what could not be effected by the interceſſion of the ſenate, or the adjuration of the prieſts, might be brought about by the tears of his wife, or the commands of his mother. This deputation ſeemed to be reliſhed by all, and even the ſenate itſelf gave it the ſanction of their authority. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at firſt made ſome heſitation to undertake ſo pious a work, knowing the inflexible temper of her ſon, and fearing only to ſhew his diſobedience in a new point of light, by rejecting the commands of a parent: however, ſhe at laſt undertook the embaſſy, and ſet forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a diſtance diſcovered this mournful train of females,

was

was reſolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him, to be witneſſes of his reſolution: but, when told that his mother and his wife were among the number, he inſtantly came down from his tribunal, to meet and embrace them. At firſt, the womens tears and embraces took away the power of words, and the rough ſoldier himſelf, hard as he was, could not refrain from ſharing in their diſtreſs. Coriolanus now ſeemed much agitated by contending paſſions; while his mother, who ſaw him moved, ſeconded her words by the moſt perſuaſive eloquence, her tears: his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity; while the fair train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's diſtreſs. Coriolanus, for a moment, was ſilent, feeling the ſtrong conflict between honour and inclination; at length, as if rouzed from his dream, he flew to take up his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O my mother, thou haſt ſaved Rome, "but loſt thy ſon." He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers, that the city was too ſtrong to be taken. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiſs in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus was ſlain in an inſurrection of the people, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome, upon the retreat of the Volſcian army; but they were clouded ſoon after, by the intrigues of Spurius Caſſius, who wanting to make himſelf deſpotic by means of the people, was found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the conſtitution, and was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by thoſe very people whoſe intereſts he had endeavoured to extend.

The

The year following, the two conſuls of the former year, Manlius and Fabius, were cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law, which had been propoſed ſome time before, for equally dividing the lands of the commonwealth among the people, was the object invariably purſued, and they were accuſed of having made unjuſtifiable delays in putting it off.

It ſeems, the Agrarian law was a grant the ſenate could not think of giving up to the people. The conſuls, therefore, made many delays and excuſes, till at length they were once more obliged to have recourſe to a dictator, and they fixed upon Quintus Cincinnatus, a man who had, for ſome time, given up all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the ſenate found him holding the plow, and dreſſed in the mean attire of a labouring huſbandman. He appeared but little elevated with the addreſſes of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and, upon declaring to him the ſenate's pleaſure, he teſtified rather a concern that his aid ſhould be wanted: he naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement, to the fatiguing ſplendors of office, and only ſaid to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, my Attillia, that for this year, our little "fields muſt remain unſown." Thus taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were ſtrongly enflamed againſt each other. However, he was reſolved to ſide with neither; but, by a ſtrict attention to the intereſts of his country, inſtead of gaining the confidence of faction, to ſeize the eſteem of all. Thus, by threats, and well-timed ſubmiſſion he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and carried himſelf ſo as to be a terror to the multitude, whenever they refuſed to enliſt; and their greateſt encourager whenever their ſubmiſſion deſerved it. Thus, having reſtored that tranquility

tranquility to the people, which he ſo much loved himſelf, he again gave up the ſplendors of ambition, to enjoy it with a greater reliſh in his little farm.

U. C. 295. Cincinnatus was not long retired from his office, when a freſh exigence of the ſtate once more required his aſſiſtance; the Æqui and the Volſci, who, tho' ſtill worſted, ſtill were for renewing the war, made new inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the conſuls who ſucceeded Cincinnatus, was ſent to oppoſe them; but being naturally timid, and rather more afraid of being conquered than deſirous of victory, his army was driven into a defile between two mountains, from which, except thro' the enemy, there was no egreſs. This, however, the Æqui had the precaution to fortify, by which the Roman army was ſo hemmed in on every ſide, that nothing remained but ſubmiſſion to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. Some knights who found means of getting away privately thro' the enemy's camp, were the firſt that brought the account of this diſaſter to Rome. Nothing could exceed the conſternation of all ranks of people when informed of it; the ſenate, at firſt, thought of the other conſul; but not having ſufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimouſly turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and reſolved to make him dictator. Cincinnatus, the only perſon on whom Rome could now place her whole dependance, was found, as before, by the meſſengers of the ſenate, labouring in his little field, with cheerful induſtry. He was at firſt aſtoniſhed at the enſigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to inveſt him; but ſtill more at the approach of the principal of the ſenate, who came out to meet him. A dignity ſo unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the ſimplicity or the integrity of his manners: and being now poſſeſſed of abſolute power, and called upon to nominate

nate his maſter of the horſe, he choſe a poor man named Tarquitius, one who, like himſelf, deſpiſed riches when they led to diſhonour. Thus the ſaving a great nation was devolved upon an huſbandman, taken from the plough, and an obſcure centinel found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a ſerene look, and entreated all thoſe who were able to bear arms, to repair before ſun-ſet to the Campus Martius, (the place where the levies were made) with neceſſary arms, and proviſions for five days. He put himſelf at the head of theſe, and marching all night with great expedition, he arrived before day, within ſight of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered his ſoldiers to raiſe a loud ſhout, to apprize the conſul's army of the relief that was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they ſaw themſelves between two enemies, but ſtill more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the ſtrongeſt entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their eſcape, and encloſing them as they had encloſed the conſul. To prevent this, a furious combat enſued; but the Æqui being attacked on both ſides, and unable to reſiſt or fly, begged a ceſſation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms: he gave them their lives; but obliged them, in token of ſervitude, to paſs under the yoke, which was two ſpears ſet upright, and another acroſs, in the form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquiſhed were to march. Their captains and generals he made priſoners of war, being reſerved to adorn his triumph. As for the plunder of the enemy's camp, that he gave entirely up to his own ſoldiers, without reſerving any part for himſelf, or permitting thoſe of the delivered army to have a ſhare. Thus, having reſcued a Roman army from inevitable deſtruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and, ſtill more, having refuſed

fuſed any part of the ſpoil, he reſigned his dictatorſhip, after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The ſenate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, chuſing to retire once more to his farm and his cottage, content with temperance and fame.

But this repoſe from foreign invaſion did not leſſen the tumults of the city within. The clamours for the Agrarian law ſtill continued, and ſtill more fiercely, when Siccius Dentatus, a plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable perſon and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardſhips and his merits. This old ſoldier made no ſcruple of extolling the various atchievements of his youth, but indeed his merits ſupported oſtentation. He had ſerved his country in the wars forty years; he had been an officer thirty, firſt a centurion, and then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles; in which, by the force of his ſingle arm, he had ſaved a multitude of lives: he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns, beſides eighty-three chains, ſixty bracelets, eighteen gilt ſpears, and twenty-three horſe-trappings, whereof nine were for killing the enemy in ſingle combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds, all before, and none behind. Theſe were his honours; yet, notwithſtanding all this, he had never received any ſhare of thoſe lands which were won from the enemy; but continued to draw on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were poſſeſſed of thoſe very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deſerve them, or ever having contributed to the conqueſt. A caſe of ſo much hardſhip had a ſtrong effect upon the multitude; they unanimouſly demanded, that the law might be paſſed, and that ſuch merit ſhould not go unrewarded. It was in vain that ſome of the ſenators roſe up to ſpeak againſt it, their voices were drowned

drowned by the cries of the people. When reaſon, therefore could no longer be heard, paſſion, as uſual, ſucceeded; and the young patricians running furiouſly into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and diſperſed the multitude that offered to oppoſe them. For this they were ſome time after fined by the tribunes, but their reſolution, nevertheleſs, for the preſent put off the Agrarian law.

CHAP. XII.

From the creation of the Decemviri to the extinction of that office.

[U. C. 302.]

THE commonwealth of Rome had now for near ſixty years been fluctuating between the contending orders that compoſed it, till at length, each ſide, as if weary, were willing to reſpire a while from the mutual exertions of their claims. The citizens, now, therefore, of every rank, began to complain of the arbitrary deciſions of their magiſtrates, and wiſhed to be guided by a written body of laws, which being known, might prevent wrongs as well as puniſh them. In this, both the ſenate and the people concurred, as hoping that ſuch laws would put an end to the commotions that ſo long had harraſſed the ſtate. It was thereupon agreed, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home ſuch laws from thence, as by experience had been found moſt equitable and uſeful. For this purpoſe, three ſenators, Poſthumus, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and gallies aſſigned to convoy them, agreeable to the majeſty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commiſſion abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and ſupplied the interval of their abſence with other anxiety than that of wiſhes for their

their return. In about a year the plague ceaſed, and the ambaſſadors returned, bringing home a body of laws collected from the moſt civilized ſtates of Greece and Italy, which being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code, called the laws of the Twelve Tables, many fragments of which remain to this day.

The ambaſſadors were no ſooner returned, than the tribunes required, that a body of men ſhould be choſen to digeſt their new laws into proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. After long debates whether this choice ſhould not be partly made from the people as well as the Patricians, it was at laſt agreed that ten of the principal ſenators ſhould be elected, whoſe power continuing for a year, ſhould be equal to that of kings and conſuls, and that without any appeal. The perſons choſen were, Appius and Genutius, who had been elected conſuls for the enſuing year; Poſthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambaſſadors; Sextus and Romulus, former conſuls; with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius ſenators of the firſt conſideration. Thus the whole conſtitution of the ſtate at once took a new form, and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation, by laws formed from the manners and cuſtoms of another.

The decemviri being now inveſted with abſolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, and that each ſhould diſpenſe juſtice for a day.

Theſe magiſtrates, for the firſt year, wrought with extreme application: and their work being finiſhed, it was expected that they would be contented to give up their offices; but having known the charms of power, they were now unwilling to reſign it: they therefore pretended that ſome laws were yet wanting to complete their deſign, and entreated the ſenate for a continuance of their offices; to which that body aſſented.

But

But they ſoon threw off the maſk of moderation, and regardleſs either of the approbation of the ſenate or the people, reſolved to continue themſelves againſt all order, in the decemvirate. A conduct ſo notorious produced diſcontents, and theſe were as ſure to produce freſh acts of tyranny. The city was become almoſt a deſert, with reſpect to all who had any thing to loſe, and the decemvirs rapacity was then only diſcontinued, when they wanted freſh objects to exerciſe it upon. In this ſtate of ſlavery, proſcription, and mutual diſtruſt, not one citizen was found to ſtrike for his country's freedom; theſe tyrants continued to rule without control, being conſtantly guarded, not with their lictors alone, but a numerous crowd of dependants, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them.

In this gloomy ſituation of the ſtate, the Æqui and Volſci, thoſe conſtant enemies of the Romans, undertook their incurſions, reſolved to profit by the inteſtine diviſions of the people, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome.

But the decemviri being put in poſſeſſion of all the military as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Appius in the city, to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one againſt the Æqui, and the other againſt the Sabines. The Roman ſoldiers had now got into a method of puniſhing the generals whom they diſliked, by ſuffering themſelves to be vanquiſhed in the field. They put it in practice upon this occaſion, and ſhamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome, than the tidings of this defeat; the generals, as is always the caſe, were blamed for the treachery of their men; ſome demanded that they ſhould be depoſed, others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conqueſt; but among the

the reſt, old Siccius Dentatus, the tribune, ſpoke his ſentiments with his uſual openneſs; and treating the generals with contempt, ſhewed all the faults of their diſcipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius, in the mean time, was not remiſs in obſerving the diſpoſition of the people. Dentatus in particular was marked out for vengeance, and, under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the ſupplies which were ſent from Rome, to reinforce the army. The office of legate was held ſacred among the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general, with the reverence due to the prieſthood. Dentatus, no way ſuſpecting his deſign, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of reſpect. But the generals ſoon found means of indulging their deſire of revenge. He was appointed at the head of an hundred men to go and examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly aſſured the commanders, that their preſent ſituation was wrong. The ſoldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were aſſaſſins; wretches who had long been miniſters of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all thoſe apprehenſions, which his reputation, as he was called the Roman Achilles, might be ſuppoſed to inſpire. With theſe deſigns they led him from the way into the hollow boſom of a retired mountain, where they began to ſet upon him from behind. Dentatus now too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was reſolved to ſell his life as dearly as he could; he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himſelf againſt thoſe who preſſed moſt cloſely. Though now grown old, he had ſtill the remains of his former valour, and killed no leſs than fifteen of the aſſailants, and wounded thirty with his own hand. The aſſaſſins now therefore, terrified at his amazing

bravery,

bravery, ſhowered in their javelins upon him at a diſtance, all which he received in his ſhield with undaunted reſolution. The combat, though ſo unequal in numbers, was managed for ſome time with doubtful ſucceſs, till at length his aſſailants bethought themſelves of aſcending the rock, againſt which he ſtood, and thus poured down ſtones upon him from above. This ſucceeded; the old ſoldier fell beneath their united efforts, after having ſhewn by his death, that he owed it to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off ſo many times victorious. The decemviri pretended to join in the general ſorrow for ſo brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the firſt military honours; but the greatneſs of their apparent diſtreſs, compared with their own hatred, only rendered them ſtill more deteſtable to the people.

But a tranſaction ſtill more atrocious than the former, ſerved to inſpire the citizens with a reſolution to break all meaſures of obedience, and at laſt to reſtore freedom. Appius, who ſtill remained at Rome, ſitting one day on his tribunal to diſpenſe juſtice, ſaw a maiden of exquiſite beauty, and aged about fifteen, paſſing to one of the public ſchools, attended by a matron, her nurſe. The charms of this damſel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modeſty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as ſhe paſſed, he found her ſtill more beautiful than before, and his breaſt ſtill more enflamed. He now therefore reſolved to obtain the gratification of his paſſion, whatever ſhould be the conſequence, and found means to inform himſelf of the virgin's name and family. Her name was Virginia. She was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the preſent campaign. Appius, at firſt, reſolved to break this match, and to eſpouſe her

her himſelf; but the laws of the Twelve Tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians, and he could not infringe theſe, as he was the enactor of them. Nothing therefore remained but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long uſed to the indulgence of his paſſions, he reſolved to obtain. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurſe, he had recourſe to another expedient, ſtill more guilty. He pitched upon one Claudius, who had long been the miniſter of his pleaſures, to aſſert the beautiful maid was his ſlave, and to refer the cauſe to his tribunal for deciſion. Claudius behaved exactly according to his inſtructions, for entering into the ſchool, where Virginia was playing among her female companions, he ſeized upon her as his property, and was going to drag her away by force, but was prevented by the people drawn together by her cries. At length, after the firſt heat of oppoſition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plauſibly expoſed his pretenſions. He aſſerted that ſhe was born in his houſe, of a female ſlave, who ſold her to the wife of Virginius, who had been barren. That he had ſeveral credible evidences to prove the truth of what he ſaid; but that, until they could come together, it was but reaſonable, the ſlave ſhould be delivered into his cuſtody, being her proper maſter. Appius ſeemed to be ſtruck with the juſtice of his claims; he obſerved, that if the reputed father himſelf were preſent, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maiden for ſome time, but that it was not lawful for him, in the preſent caſe, to detain her from her lawful maſter. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius, as his ſlave, to be kept by him till Virginius ſhould be able to prove his paternity. This ſentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude; the women in particular came round the innocent Virginia, as

if

if willing to protect her from the judge's fury; while Icilius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open insurrection, when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment till the arrival of Viginius, who was then about eleven miles from Rome, with the army. The day following was fixed for the trial; and, in the mean time, Appius sent letters to the generals to confine Virginius, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition among the people. These letters, however, were intercepted by the centurion's friends, who sent him down a full relation of the crime laid against the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginius upon this pretending the death of a near relation, got permission to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly, the next day he appeared before the tribunal, to the astonishment of Appius, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepest mourning. Claudius, the accuser, was also there, and began by making his demand. Virginius next spoke in turn; he represented that his wife had many children; that she had been seen pregnant by numbers; that, if he had intentions of adopting a supposititious child, he would have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had herself suckled her own child; and that it was surprizing such a claim should be now revived, after a fifteen years discontinuance. While the father spoke this with a stern air, Virginia stood trembling by, and, with looks of persuasive innocence, added weight to all his remonstrances. The people seemed entirely satisfied of the hardship of his case, till Appius, fearing what he said might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under a pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the

merits of the cauſe. "Yes," ſays he, "my con-
"ſcience obliges me to declare, that I myſelf am a
"witneſs to the truth of the depoſition of Claudius.
"Moſt of this aſſembly know that I was left guar-
"dian to this youth, and I was very early apprized,
"that he had a right to this young woman; but the
"affairs of the public, and the diſſenſions of the
"people, then prevented me doing him juſtice.
"However, it is not now too late; and, by the
"power veſted in me for the public good, I adjudge
"Virginia to be the property of Claudius, the plain-
"tiff. Go, therefore, lictors, diſperſe the multi-
"tude, and make room for a maſter to repoſſeſs
"himſelf of his ſlave." The lictors, in obedience to his command, ſoon drove off the throng that preſſ-ed round the tribunal; and now they ſeized upon Virginia, and were delivering her up into the hands of Claudius, when Virginius, who found that all was over, ſeemed to acquieſce in the ſentence. He therefore mildly intreated Appius to be permitted to take a laſt farewell of one whom he had long conſi-dered as his child, and, ſo ſatisfied, he would return to his duty with freſh alacrity. With this the decem-vir complied, but upon condition that their endear-ments ſhould paſs in his preſence. Virginius, with the moſt poignant anguiſh, took his almoſt expiring daughter in his arms, for awhile ſupported her head upon his breaſt, and wiped away the tears that rolled down her lovely viſage; and happening to be near the ſhops that ſurrounded the Forum, he ſnatched up a knife that lay on the ſhambles, and addreſſing his daughter, "My deareſt, loſt child," cried he, "this,
"this alone can preſerve your honour and your free-
"dom." So ſaying, he buried the weapon in her breaſt, and then holding it up, reeking with the blood of his daughter, "Appius," he cried, "by
"this blood of innocence, I devote thy head to the
"infernal gods." Thus ſaying, with the bloody knife

knife in his hand, and threatening deſtruction to whomſoever ſhould oppoſe him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to ſtrike for freedom, and from thence went to the camp in order to ſpread a like flame through the army.

He no ſooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, but he informed the army of all that was done, ſtill holding the bloody knife in his hand. He aſked their pardon, and the pardon of the gods, for having committed ſo raſh an action, but aſcribed it all to the dreadful neceſſity of the times. The army, already prediſpoſed, immediately with ſhouts echoed their approbation, and decamping, left their generals behind, to take their ſtation once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army which had been to oppoſe the Sabines, ſeemed to feel a like reſentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

Appius, in the mean time, did all he could to quell the diſturbances in the city; but finding the tumult incapable of controul, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the moſt active in oppoſition, at firſt attempted to find ſafety by flight; nevertheleſs, being encouraged by Oppius, who was one of his colleagues, he ventured to aſſemble the ſenate, and urged the puniſhment of all deſerters. The ſenate, however, were far from giving him the relief he ſought for; they foreſaw the dangers and miſeries that threatened the ſtate, in caſe of oppoſing the incenſed army; they therefore diſpatched meſſengers to them, offering to reſtore their former mode of government. To this propoſal all the people joyfully aſſented, and the army gladly obeyed, now returning to the city, if not with the enſigns, at leaſt with the pleaſure, of a triumphant entry. Appius and Oppius, one of his colleagues, both died by their own hands in priſon.

The other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended maſter of Virginia, was driven out after them.

In the mean time, theſe inteſtine tumults produced weakneſs within the ſtate, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the Æqui and Volſci ſtill continued, and, as each year ſome trifling advantages were obtained over the Romans, they, at laſt, advanced ſo far, as to make their incurſions to the very walls of Rome. But not the courage only of the Romans ſeemed diminiſhed by theſe conqueſts, but their other virtues alſo, particularly their juſtice. About this time, the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, Ardea and Aricia, had a conteſt between themſelves, about ſome lands that had long been claimed by both. At length being unable to agree, they referred it to the ſenate and the people of Rome. The ſenate had yet ſome of the principles of primitive juſtice remaining, and refuſed to determine the diſpute. But the people readily undertook the deciſion; and one Scaptius, an old man, declaring, that theſe very lands of right belonged to Rome, they immediately voted themſelves to be the legal poſſeſſors, and ſent home the former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injuſtice.

U. C. 309.

The tribunes now grew more turbulent, they propoſed two laws; one to permit plebeians to intermarry with patricians; and the other, to permit them to be admitted to the conſulſhip alſo. The ſenators received theſe propoſals with indignation, and ſeemed reſolved to undergo the utmoſt extremities, rather than ſubmit to enact them. However, finding their reſiſtance only encreaſe the commotions of the ſtate, they, at laſt, conſented to paſs the law concerning marriages, hoping that this conceſſion would ſatisfy the people. But they were to be appeaſed but for a very ſhort time; for returning to their old cuſtom of refuſing

refuſing to enliſt upon the approach of an enemy, the conſuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the ſenate; where, after many debates, Claudius propoſed an expedient, as the moſt probable means of ſatisfying the people in the preſent conjuncture. This was, to create ſix or eight governors in the room of conſuls, whereof, one half, at leaſt, ſhould be patricians. This project, which was, in fact, granting what the people demanded, pleaſed the whole meeting; and it was agreed, that at the next public meeting of the ſenate, the conſuls ſhould, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, begin by aſking the opinion of the youngeſt ſenator. Upon aſſembling the ſenate, one of the tribunes accuſed them of holding ſecret meetings, and managing dangerous deſigns againſt the people. The conſuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonſtrate their ſincerity, gave any of the younger members of the houſe leave to propound their opinions. Theſe remaining ſilent, ſuch of the older ſenators as were known to be popular, began by obſerving, that the people ought to be indulged in their requeſt, that none ſo well deſerved power, as thoſe who were moſt inſtrumental in gaining it; and that the city could not be free until all were reduced to perfect equality. Claudius ſpoke next; and broke out into bitter invectives againſt the people; aſſerting, that it was his opinion that the law ſhould not paſs. This produced ſome diſturbance among the plebeians; at length, Genutius propoſed, as had been preconcerted, that ſix governors ſhould be annually choſen, with conſular authority, three from the ſenate, and three from the people; and that when the time of their magiſtracy ſhould be expired, then it would be ſeen whether they ſhould have the ſame office continued, or whether the conſulſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people: yet ſo fickle were the multitude, that

though many of the plebeians ſtood, the choice wholly fell upon the patricians, who offered themſelves as candidates. Theſe new magiſtrates were called Military Tribunes; they were at firſt but three, afterwards they were encreaſed to four, and at length to ſix. They had the power and enſigns of conſuls, yet that power being divided among a number, each ſingly was of leſs authority. The firſt that was choſen, only continued in office about three months, the augurs having found ſomething amiſs in the ceremonies of their election.

U. C. 310.

The military tribunes being depoſed, the conſuls once more came into office; and, in order to lighten the weight of buſineſs which they were obliged to ſuſtain, a new office was erected; namely, that of Cenſors, to be choſen every fifth year. Their buſineſs was to take an eſtimate of the number and eſtates of the people, and to diſtribute them into their proper claſſes; to inſpect into the lives and manners of their fellow-citizens; to degrade ſenators for miſ-conduct; to diſmount knights, and to turn down plebeians from their tribes into an inferior, in caſe of miſdemeanor. The two firſt cenſors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for near an hundred years.

This new creation ſerved to reſtore peace for ſome time among the orders; and a triumph gained over the Volſcians by Geganius the conſul, added to the univerſal ſatisfaction that reigned among the people.

This calm, however, was but of ſhort continuance; for, ſome time after, a famine preſſing hard upon the poor, the uſual complaints againſt the rich were renewed; and theſe, as before, proving ineffectual, produced new ſeditions. The conſuls were accuſed of neglect, in not having laid in proper quantities of corn; they, however, diſregarded the murmurs of the populace, content with

U.C. 313.

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exerting all their care in attempts to ſupply the preſſing neceſſities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magiſtrates, in providing and diſtributing proviſions to the poor; yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had purchaſed up all the corn of Tuſcany, by far outſhone them in liberality. This demagogue, enflamed with a ſecret deſire of becoming powerful by the contentions in the ſtate, diſtributed corn in great quantities among the poorer ſort each day, till his houſe became the aſylum of all ſuch as wiſhed to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependance. When he had thus gained a ſufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his houſe by night, and formed a conſpiracy, by which he was to obtain the command, while ſome of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him, in ſeizing upon the liberties of his country. Minucius ſoon diſcovered the plot, and informing the ſenate thereof, they immediately formed a reſolution of creating a dictator, who ſhould have the power of quelling the conſpiracy, without appealing to the people. Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was choſen once more to reſcue his country from impending danger. He began by ſummoning Mælius to appear; who refuſed to obey. He next ſent Ahala, the maſter of his horſe, to force him; who meeting him in the Forum, and preſſing Mælius to follow him to the dictator's tribunal, upon his refuſal, Ahala killed him upon the ſpot. The dictator applauded the reſolution of his officer, and commanded the conſpirator's goods to be ſold, and his houſe to be demoliſhed, diſtributing his ſtores among the people.

The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and, in order to puniſh the ſenate at the next election, inſtead of conſuls, inſiſt-

U. C. 315. ed upon reſtoring their military tribunes. With this, the ſenate were obliged to comply. The next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, and conſuls were choſen.

The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome; they had ever taken the opportunity of its internal diſtreſſes, to ravage its territories, and had even threatened its ambaſſadors, ſent to complain of theſe injuries, with outrage. It ſeemed now therefore determined, that the city of Veii, whatever it ſhould coſt, was to fall; and the Romans accordingly ſate regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful reſiſtance. The ſtrength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the ſiege, which laſted for ten years; during which time, the army continued encamped round it, lying, in winter, under tents, made of the ſkins of beaſts, and in ſummer, driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the ſucceſs, and many were the commanders that directed the ſiege; ſometimes all the beſiegers works were deſtroyed, and many of their men cut off by ſallies from the town; ſometimes they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring aſſiſtance from without. A ſiege ſo bloody, ſeemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itſelf, by draining its forces continually away; ſo that a law was obliged to be made, for all the batchelors to marry the widows of the ſoldiers who were ſlain. In order to carry it on with greater vigour, Furius Camillus was created dictator, and to him was entruſted the ſole power of managing the long protracted war. Camillus, who, without intrigue or any ſollicitation, had raiſed himſelf to the firſt eminence in the ſtate, had been made one of the cenſors ſome time before, and was conſidered as the head of that office; he was afterwards made a military tribune,

and

and had in this poſt gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. It was his great courage and abilities in the above offices, that made him thought moſt worthy to ſerve his country on this preſſing occaſion. Upon his appointment, numbers of the people flocked to his ſtandard, confident of ſucceſs under ſo experienced a commander. Conſcious, however, that he was unable to take the city by ſtorm, he ſecretly wrought a mine into it, with vaſt labour, which opened into the midſt of the citadel. Certain thus of ſucceſs, and finding the city incapable of relief, he ſent to the ſenate, deſiring, that all who choſe to ſhare in the plunder of Veii, ſhould immediately repair to the army. Then giving his men directions how to enter at the breach, the city was inſtantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and conſternation of the beſieged, who, but a moment before, had reſted in perfect ſecurity. Thus, like a ſecond Troy, was the city of Veii taken, after a ten years ſiege; and, with its ſpoils enriched the conquerors; while Camillus himſelf, tranſported with the honour of having ſubdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk-white horſes; a diſtinction which did not fail to diſguſt the majority of the ſpectators, as they conſidered thoſe as ſacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods than their generals.

His uſual good fortune attended Camillus in another expedition againſt the Faliſci; he routed their army, and beſieged their capital city Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous reſiſtance. The reduction of this little place would have been ſcarce worth mentioning in this ſcanty page, were it not for an action of the Roman general, that has done him more credit with poſterity, than all his other triumphs united. A ſchool-maſter, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men of the

city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the ſureſt means of inducing the citizens to a ſpeedy ſurrender. The general was ſtruck with the treachery of a wretch, whoſe duty it was to protect innocence, and not to betray it; he for ſome time regarded the traitor with a ſtern air, but at laſt finding words, "Execrable villain," cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abominable propoſals to crea-
"tures like thyſelf, and not to me; what though
"we be the enemies of your city, yet there are na-
"tural ties that bind all mankind, which ſhould
"never be broken: there are duties required from
"us in war, as well as in peace: we fight not againſt
"an age of innocence, but againſt men; men who
"have uſed us ill indeed, but yet, whoſe crimes are
"virtues, when compared to thine. Againſt ſuch
"baſe arts, let it be my duty to uſe only Roman
"arts, the arts of valour and of arms." So ſaying, he immediately ordered him to be ſtript, his hands tied behind him, and, in that ignominious manner, to be whipped into the town by his own ſcholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could do; the magiſtrates of the town immediately ſubmitted to the ſenate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their ſurrender, who only fined them a ſum of money to ſatisfy his army, and received them under the protection and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithſtanding the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they ſeemed but little adapted to bring over the reſpect of the turbulent tribunes at home, as they raiſed ſome freſh accuſation againſt him every day. To the charge of being an oppoſer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates, for his own uſe, and appointed him a day, on which

which to appear before the people. Camillus finding the multitude exasperated against him upon many accounts, detesting their ingratitude, resolved not to wait the ignominy of a trial: but, embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended, on his way, and unlamented. There he could suppress his indignation no longer, but turning his face to the Capitol, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, entreated all the Gods, that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude; and so saying, he past forward to take refuge at Ardea, a town at a little distance from Rome, where he afterwards learned, that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses by the tribunes at home.

The tribunes were not a little pleased with their triumph over this great man; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one, who alone was able to protect their country from ruin. For now a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make its appearance, than the Romans had ever yet encountered. The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern parts of Italy. They had been invited over by the deliciousness of the wines, and the softness of the climate. Wherever they came, they dispossest the original inhabitants, as they were men of superior courage, extraordinary stature, fierce in aspect, barbarous in their manners, and prone to emigration. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus, their king. The inhabitants of Clusium, frightened at their numbers, and still more at their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or, at least, the mediation of the Romans. The senate, who had long made it a maxim, never to refuse succour to the distressed,

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diſtreſſed, were willing, previouſly to ſend ambaſſadors to the Gauls, to diſſuade them from their enterprize, and to ſhew the injuſtice of the irruption. Accordingly, three young ſenators were choſen out of the family of the Fabii, to manage the commiſſion, who ſeemed more fitted for the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaiſance, that argued but little of the barbarian; and deſiring to know the buſineſs of their embaſſy, was anſwered according to their inſtructions, that it was not cuſtomary in Italy, to make a war, but on juſt grounds of provocation, and that they deſired to know, what offence the citizens of Cluſium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this Brennus ſternly replied, that the rights of valiant men lay in their ſwords; that the Romans themſelves had no right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reaſons of reſentment againſt the people of Cluſium, as they refuſed to part with thoſe lands, which they had neither hands to till, nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambaſſadors, who were but little uſed to bear the language of a conqueror, for a while diſſembled their reſentment at this haughty reply; but, upon entering the beſieged city, inſtead of acting as ambaſſadors, and forgetful of their ſacred characters, headed the citizens in a ſally againſt the beſiegers. In this combat, Fabius Ambuſtus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was diſcovered, while he was deſpoiling him of his armour. A conduct ſo unjuſt and unbecoming, excited the reſentment of Brennus, who, having made his complaint by an herald to the ſenate, and finding no redreſs, immediately broke up the ſiege, and marched away with his conquering army directly to Rome.

The countries through which the Gauls paſſed, in their rapid progreſs, gave up all hopes of ſafety upon their approach; being terrified at their vaſt numbers, the fierceneſs of their natures, and their dreadful preparations

parations for war. But the rage and impetuoſity of this wild people were directed only againſt Rome. They went on without doing the leaſt injury in their march, ſtill breathing vengeance only againſt the Romans; and a terrible engagement ſoon after enſued, in which the Romans were defeated near the river Allia, with the loſs of near forty thouſand men.

Rome, thus deprived of all ſuccour, prepared for every extremity. The inhabitants endeavoured to hide themſelves in ſome of the neighbouring towns, or reſolved to await the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But, more particularly, the ancient ſenators, and prieſts, ſtruck with a religious enthuſiaſm, on this occaſion, reſolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and, habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themſelves in the Forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a looſe to their triumph, in ſharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the Capitol itſelf had been taken; but they continued two days feaſting upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleaſure, exulting amidſt their ſlaughtered enemies. On the third day after the victory, the eaſineſs of which much amazed the Gauls, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at firſt much ſurprized to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceleſs; ſo that he began to impute the unguarded ſituation of the place, to a ſtratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions he entered the city, and marching into the Forum, there beheld the ancient ſenators ſitting in their order, obſerving a profound ſilence, unmoved and undaunted. The ſplendid habits, the majeſtic gravity, and the venerable looks of theſe old men, who had all, in their time, borne the higheſt offices of

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the ſtate, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer blind adoration, till one, more forward than the reſt, put forth his hand to ſtroak the beard of Papyrius; an inſult the noble Roman could not endure, but lifting up his ivory ſcepter, ſtruck the ſavage to the ground. This ſeemed as a ſignal for general ſlaughter. Papyrius fell firſt, and all the reſt ſhared his fate, without mercy or diſtinction. Thus the fierce invaders purſued their ſlaughter for three days ſucceſſively, ſparing neither ſex nor age, and then ſetting fire to the city, burnt every houſe to the ground.

U.C. 364. All the hopes of Rome were now placed in the Capitol; every thing without that fortreſs, was but an extenſive ſcene of miſery, deſolation, and deſpair. Brennus firſt ſummoned it, with threats, to ſurrender, but in vain; he then reſolved to beſiege it in form, and hemmed it round with his army. Nevertheleſs, the Romans repelled his attempts with great bravery; deſpair had ſupplied them with that perſeverance and vigour, which they ſeemed to want when in proſperity.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the ſiege with extreme ardour. He hoped, in time, to ſtarve the garriſon into a capitulation; but they, ſenſible of his intent, although they were in actual want, cauſed ſeveral loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of ſuch expectations. His hopes failing in this, were ſoon after revived, when ſome of his ſoldiers came to inform him, that they had diſcovered ſome foot-ſteps which led up to the rock, and by which they ſuppoſed the Capitol might be ſurpriſed. Accordingly, a choſen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous ſervice, which they with great labour and difficulty almoſt effected: they were now got upon the very wall; the Roman centinel was faſt aſleep; their dogs within

within gave no ſignal, and all promiſed an inſtant victory, when the garriſon was awaked by the gabbling of ſome ſacred geeſe, that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The beſieged ſoon perceived the imminence of their danger, and each ſnatched the weapon he could inſtantly find, ran to oppoſe the aſſailants. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, was the firſt who exerted all his ſtrength, and inſpired courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and, at one effort, threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others ſoon came to his aſſiſtance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy, in a ſpace of time ſhorter than that employed in the recital.

From this time forward, the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wiſhed for an opportunity of raiſing the ſiege with credit. His ſoldiers had often conferences with the beſieged, while upon duty, and the propoſals for an accommodation were wiſhed for by the commen men, before the chiefs thought of a congreſs. At length the commanders on both ſides came to an agreement, that the Gauls ſhould immediately quit the city and territories of Rome, upon being paid a thouſand pounds weight of gold. This agreement being confirmed by oath on either ſide, the gold was brought forth, but, upon weighing, the Gauls attempted fraudulently to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Brennus inſultingly caſt his ſword and belt into the ſcale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquiſhed was to ſuffer. By this reply, the Romans ſaw that they were at the victor's mercy; and knew it was in vain to expoſtulate againſt any conditions he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. But in this very juncture, and while they were thus debating upon the payment, it was told them, that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a large army, haſtening to their relief, and entering

the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared soon after, and entering the place of controversy, with the air of one who was resolved not to suffer imposition, demanded the cause of the contest; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the Capitol, "For it has ever been," cried he, "the manner with us Romans, to ransom "our country, not with gold but with iron; it is I "only that am to make peace, as being the dictator "of Rome, and my sword alone shall purchase it." Upon this, a battle ensued, in which the Gauls were entirely routed; and such a slaughter followed, that the Roman territories were soon cleared of their formidable invaders. Thus, was Rome, by the bravery of Camillus cleared of its foes.

The city being one continued heap of ruins, except the Capitol, and the greatest number of its former inhabitants having gone to take refuge in Veii, the tribunes of the people urged for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houses to shelter, and walls to defend them. On this occasion, Camillus attempted to appease them with all the arts of persuasion: observing, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to desert the venerable seats of their ancestors, where they had been encouraged, by repeated marks of divine approbation, to remove and to inhabit a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itself. By these and such like remonstrances, he prevailed upon the people to go contentdely to work; and Rome soon began to rise from it's ashes.

We have already seen the bravery of Manlius in defending the Capitol, and saving the last remains of Rome. For this the people were by no means ungrateful, having built him an house near the place where his valour was so conspicuous, and having appointed him a public fund for his support. But he aspired

aſpired at being not only equal to Camillus, but to be ſovereign of Rome. With this view he laboured to ingratiate himſelf with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their oppreſſors. The ſenate was not ignorant of his diſcourſes or his deſigns, and created Cornelius Coſſus dictator, with a view to curb the ambition of Manlius. The dictator ſoon finiſhed an expedition againſt the Volſcians, by a victory; and upon his return, called Manlius to an account, for his conduct. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace, to be affected by the power of Coſſus, who was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement in triumph through the city. This ſucceſs only ſerved to enflame his ambition. He now began to talk of a diviſion of the lands among the people; inſinuated that there ſhould be no diſtinctions in the ſtate; and, to give weight to his diſcourſes, always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the people, whom his largeſſes had made his followers. The city being thus filled with ſedition and clamour, the ſenate had recourſe to another expedient, and to oppoſe the power of Camillus to that of the demagogue. Camillus accordingly being made one of the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day to anſwer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the Capitol, where, when he was accuſed of ſedition, and of aſpiring at ſovereignty, he only turned his eyes, and, pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had there done for his country. The multitude, whoſe compaſſion or whoſe juſtice ſeldom ſprings from rational motives, refuſed to condemn him, while he pleaded in ſight of the Capitol; but when he was brought from thence to the Peteline grove, and where the Capitol was no longer to be ſeen, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which had been the theatre

theatre of his glory, became that of his puniſhment and infamy. His houſe, in which his conſpiracies had been ſecretly carried on, was ordered to be razed to the ground, and his family were forbidden ever after to aſſume the name of Manlius.

In this manner therefore, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and ſuperſtition within their walls, and ſucceſsful enterprizes without. With what an implicit obedience they ſubmitted to their pontiffs, we have already ſeen in many inſtances; and how far they might be impelled even to encounter death itſelf, at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius about this time; who, upon the opening of a gulph in the Forum, which the augurs affirmed, would never cloſe up till the moſt precious things in Rome were thrown into it, this heroic man leaped with his horſe and armour boldly into the midſt, ſaying, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotiſm and military virtue. The gulph, ſay the hiſtorians, cloſed immediately upon this, and Curtius was never ſeen after.

U.C. 392.

CHAP. XIII.

From the wars of the Samnites and the wars with Pyrrhus, to the beginning of the firſt Punic war, when the Romans firſt went out of Italy.

THE Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volſcians, began to look for greater conqueſts. The accordingly turned their arms againſt the Samnites, a people about an hundred miles eaſt from the city, deſcended from the Sabines, and inhabiting a large tract of ſouthern Italy, which at this day makes a conſiderable part of the kingdom

kingdom of Naples. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two conſuls, to whoſe care it firſt fell to manage the dreadful contention between the rival ſtates.

Valerius was one of the greateſt commanders of his time; he was ſurnamed Corvus, from a ſtrange circumſtance of being aſſiſted by a crow in a ſingle combat, in which he fought and killed a Gaul, of a gigantic ſtature. To his colleague's care it was conſigned to lead an army to Samnium, the enemies capital, while Corvus was ſent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was captain more fitted for command than he. To an habit naturally robuſt and athletic, he joined the gentleſt manners; he was the fierceſt, and yet the moſt good-natured man in the army; and, while the meaneſt centinel was his companion, no man kept them more ſtrictly to their duty; but what completes his character, he conſtantly endeavoured to preſerve his dignities, by the ſame arts by which he gained them. Such ſoldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adverſity, and led on by ſuch a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites were the braveſt men they ever yet encountered, and the contention between the two nations, was managed on both ſides with the moſt determined reſolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring, that they were not able to withſtand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans. The other conſul, however, was not at firſt ſo fortunate; for having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune of the army, poſſeſſed himſelf of an hill which commanded the enemy; ſo that the Samnites being attacked on either ſide, were defeated with great ſlaughter; no leſs than thirty thouſand of them being left dead upon the field of battle.

Sometime after this victory, the ſoldiers who were ſtationed at Capua mutinying, forced Quintius, an old

old and eminent ſoldier, who was then reſiding in the country, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage, more than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almoſt at the gates, not a little alarmed the ſenate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus, dictator, and ſent him forth with another army to oppoſe them. The two armies were now drawn up againſt each other, while fathers and ſons beheld themſelves prepared to engage in oppoſite cauſes. Any other general but Corvus would, perhaps, have brought this civil war to an extremity; but he knowing his influence among the ſoldiery, inſtead of going forward to meet the mutineers in an hoſtile manner, went with the moſt cordial friendſhip to embrace and expoſtulate with his old acquaintances. His conduct had the deſired effect. Quintius, as their ſpeaker, only deſired to have their defection from their duty forgiven; and as for himſelf, as he was innocent of their conſpiracy, he had no reaſon to ſollicit pardon for his offences. Thus, this defection, which at firſt threatened ſuch dangers to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whoſe ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies.

A war between the Romans and the Latins followed ſoon after, but as their habits, arms, and language, were the ſame, the moſt exact diſcipline was neceſſary, to prevent confuſion in the engagement. Orders, therefore, were iſſued by Manlius, the conſul, that no ſoldier ſhould leave his ranks upon whatever provocation; and that he ſhould be certainly put to death, who ſhould offer to do otherwiſe. With theſe injunctions, both armies were drawn out in array, and ready to begin, when Metius, the general of the enemies cavalry, puſhed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to ſingle combat. For ſome time there was a

general

general pauſe, no ſoldier offering to diſobey his orders, till Titius Manlius, the conſul's own ſon, burning with ſhame to ſee the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly ſingled out againſt his adverſary. The ſoldiers on both ſides, for awhile, ſuſpended the general engagement, to be ſpectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horſes againſt each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adverſary's horſe in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin being thus fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to ſupport himſelf upon his ſhield; but the Roman followed his blows with ſo much force, that he laid him dead, as he was endeavouring to riſe; and then deſpoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the conſul, his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement. Howſoever he might have been applauded by his fellow-ſoldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he ſhould find from his father, he came, with heſitation, to lay the enemy's ſpoils at his feet, and with a modeſt air inſinuated, that what he did, was entirely from a ſpirit of hereditary virtue. But he was ſoon dreadfully made ſenſible of his error, when his father, turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army. There being brought forward, the conſul, with a ſtern countenance, and yet with tears, ſpoke as follows: "Titus "Manlius, as thou haſt regarded neither the dignity "of the conſulſhip, nor the commands of thy fa- "ther; as thou haſt deſtroyed military diſcipline, "and ſet a pattern of diſobedience by thy example, "thou haſt reduced me to the deplorable extremity "of ſacrificing my ſon or my country. But let us "not heſitate in this dreadful alternative; a thouſand "lives were well loſt in ſuch a cauſe: nor do I think, "that thou thyſelf wilt refuſe to die, when thy coun- "try is to reap the advantage of thy ſufferings. Go,

"lictor,

" lictor, bind him, and let his death be our future " example." The whole army was ſtruck with horror at this unnatural mandate; fear, for awhile kept them in ſuſpenſe; but when they ſaw their young champion's head ſtruck off, and his blood ſtreaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations, and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military diſtreſs.

In the mean time, the battle joined with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the ſame leaders, they combated with all the animoſity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily ſtrength; the Romans, on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces ſo nearly matched, ſeemed only to require the protection of their deities, to turn the ſcale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army ſhould be diſtreſt, the commander of that part ſhould devote himſelf for his country, and die as a ſacrifice to the immortal gods. Manlius commanded the right wing; and Decius led on the left. Both ſides fought, for ſome time, with doubtful ſucceſs, as their courage was equal; but, after a time, the left wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, reſolved to devote himſelf for his country, and to offer his own life, as an atonement to ſave his army. Thus determined, he called out to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his inſtructions, as he was the chief pontiff, how to devote himſelf, and the form of the words he ſhould uſe. By his directions, therefore, being cloathed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms ſtretched forward, ſtanding upon a javelin, he devoted himſelf to the celeſtial and infernal gods, for the ſafety of Rome. Then arming himſelf, and mounting

mounting on horſe back, he drove furiouſly into the midſt of the enemies, carrying terror and conſternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time the Roman army conſidered his devoting himſelf in this manner, as an aſſurance of ſucceſs; nor was the ſuperſtition of the Latins leſs powerfully influenced by his reſolution, a total rout began to enſue; the Romans preſſed them on every ſide, and ſo great was the carnage, that ſcarce a fourth part of the enemy ſurvived the defeat. This was the laſt battle of any conſequence, that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to beg a peace upon hard conditions, and two years after, their ſtrongeſt city, Pædum, being taken, they were brought under an entire ſubmiſſion to the Roman power.

A ſignal diſgrace which the Romans ſuſtained about this time in their conteſt with the Samnites made a pauſe in their uſual good fortune, and turned the ſcale for a while, in the enemies favour. The ſenate having denied the Samnites peace, Pontius, their general was reſolved to gain by ſtratagem, what he had frequently loſt by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile, called Claudium, and taking poſſeſſion of all its outlets, he ſent ten of his ſoldiers, habited like ſhepherds, with directions to throw themſelves in the way the Romans were to march. Exactly to his wiſhes, the Roman conſul met them, and taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken: they with ſeeming indifference, replied that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, and were then actually beſieging it. The Roman general, not ſuſpecting the ſtratagem that was laid againſt him, marched directly by the ſhorteſt road, which lay through the defiles, to relieve the city; and was not undeceived, till he ſaw his army ſurrounded, and blocked up on every ſide. Pontius, thus having the

U.C. 431.

Romans

Romans entirely in his power, firſt obliged the army to paſs under the yoke, having been previouſly ſtript of all but their garments; he then ſtipulated that they ſhould wholly quit the territories of the Samnites, and that they ſhould continue to live upon terms of former confederacy. The Romans were conſtrained to ſubmit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua diſarmed, half naked, and burning with a deſire of retrieving their loſt honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was moſt ſurpriſingly afflicted at their ſhameful return; nothing but grief and reſentment was to be ſeen, and the whole city was put into mourning.

But this was a tranſitory calamity, the ſtate had ſuffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power. The war was carried on as uſual, for many years; the power of the Samnites declining every day, while that of the Romans gathered freſh confidence from every victory. Under the conduct of Papyrius Curſor, who was at different times conſul and dictator, repeated triumphs were gained. Fabius Maximus alſo had his ſhare in the glory of conquering them; and Decius, the ſon of that Decius, whom we ſaw devoting himſelf for his country, about forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, ruſhing into the midſt of the enemy, ſaved the lives of his countrymen with the loſs of his own.

The Samnites being thus driven to the moſt extreme diſtreſs, as they were unable to defend themſelves, they were obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, and have recourſe to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to ſave them from impending ruin. Pyrrhus, a king of great courage, ambition, and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predeceſſor, before his eyes, promiſed to come to their aſſiſtance; and, in the mean time, diſpatched over a body of three thouſand men, under the command of

of Cineas, an experienced ſoldier, and a ſcholar of the great orator Demoſthenes. Nor did he himſelf remain long behind, but ſoon after put to ſea with three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. However, only a ſmall part of theſe great preparations arrived in Italy with him, for many of his ſhips were diſperſed, and ſome were totally loſt in a tempeſt. Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his firſt care was to reform the people he came to ſuccour; for obſerving a total diſſolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleaſures of bathing, feaſting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment ſhut up, and that they ſhould be reſtrained in all ſuch amuſements as rendered ſoldiers unfit for battle. In the mean time, the Romans did all that prudence could ſuggeſt, to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy; and the conſul Lævinus was ſent with a numerous army to interrupt his progreſs. Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, drew out to meet him; but previouſly ſent an ambaſſador, deſiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus returned for anſwer, that he neither eſteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambaſſador through the Roman camp, deſired him to obſerve diligently what he ſaw, and to report the reſult to his maſter. In conſequence of this, both armies approaching, pitched their tents in ſight of each other, upon the oppoſite banks of the river Lyris. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the ſituation of his own camp, and in obſerving that of the enemy. It was there, that walking along the banks of the river, and ſurveying the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to obſerve,

"That theſe barbarians ſeemed to be no way barbarous, and he ſhould too ſoon find their actions equal to their reſolution." In the mean time, ordering a body of men along the banks of the river, he placed them in readineſs to oppoſe the Romans, in caſe they ſhould attempt to ford it before his whole army was brought together. Things turned out according to his expectations; the conſul, with an impetuoſity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for paſſing the river, where it was fordable; and the advanced guard having attempted to oppoſe him in vain, was obliged to retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhus being appriſed of the enemies attempt, at firſt hoped to cut off their cavalry, before they could be reinforced by the foot, that were not as yet got over, and led on in perſon a choſen body of horſe againſt them. The Roman legions having, with much difficulty, advanced acroſs the river, the engagement became general; the Greeks fought with a conſciouſneſs of their former fame, and the Romans with a deſire of gaining freſh glory: mankind had never before ſeen two ſuch differently diſciplined armies oppoſed to each other, nor is it to this day determined, whether the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in ſuſpence; the Romans had ſeven times repulſed the enemy, and were as often driven back themſelves; but at length, while the ſucceſs ſeemed doubtful, Pyrrhus ſent his elephants into the midſt of the engagement, and theſe turned the ſcale of victory in his favour. The Romans, who had never before ſeen creatures of ſuch magnitude, were terrified not only with their intrepid fierceneſs, but the caſtles that were built upon their backs, filled with armed men. It was then that Pyrrhus ſaw the day was his own; and ſending in his Theſſalian cavalry to charge the enemy in diſorder, the rout became general. A dreadful ſlaughter of the Romans enſued,

fifteen

fifteen thouſand men being killed on the ſpot, and eighteen hundred taken priſoners. Nor were the conquerors in a much better ſtate than the vanquiſhed, Pyrrhus himſelf being wounded, and thirteen thouſand of his forces ſlain. Night coming on put an end to the ſlaughter on both ſides, and Pyrrhus was heard to cry out, That one ſuch victory more would ruin his whole army. The next day, as he walked to view the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration, the bodies of the Romans which were ſlain: upon ſeeing them all with their wounds before; their countenances, even in death, marked with noble reſolution, and a ſternneſs that awed him into reſpect; he was heard to cry out, in the true ſpirit of a military adventurer, "O with "what eaſe could I conquer the world, had I "the Romans for ſoldiers, or had they me for their "king!"

Pyrrhus, after this victory, was ſtill unwilling to drive them to an extremity, and conſidered that it was beſt treating with an humble enemy; he reſolved therefore to ſend his friends Cineas, the orator, to negociate a peace; of whom he often aſſerted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms. Cineas, with all his art, found the Romans incapable of being ſeduced, either by bribery, private, or public perſuaſion.

Being fruſtrated, therefore, in his expectations, he returned to his maſter, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The ſenate, he ſaid, appeared a reverend aſſembly of demi-gods; and the city, a temple for their reception. Of this Pyrrhus ſoon after became ſenſible, by an embaſſy from Rome, concerning the ranſom and exchange of priſoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient ſenator, who had long been a pattern to his countrymen of the moſt extreme poverty, joined to the moſt chearful content. Pyrrhus re-

ceived this celebrated old man with great kindneſs; and, willing to try how far fame had been juſt in his favor, offered him rich preſents; which, however, the Roman refuſed. The day after, he was deſirous of examining the equality of his temper, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapeſtry, which, upon a ſignal given, raiſed its trunk above the embaſſador's head, at the ſame time uſing other arts to intimidate him. But Fabricius, with a countenance no way changing, ſmiled upon the king, obſerving, that he looked with an equal eye on the terrors of this day, as he had upon the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleaſed to find ſo much virtve in one he had conſidered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which he knew could make him happy: he releaſed the Roman priſoners, entruſting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promiſe, that, in caſe the ſenate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper.

U.C 474. By this time the Roman army was recovered from its late defeat, and Sulpicius and Decius, the Conſuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panic which had formerly ſeized it from the elephants, now began to wear off: and both armies met near the city Aſculum, both pretty nearly equal in numbers, being about forty thouſand ſtrong; and here again, after a long and obſtinate fight, the Grecian diſcipline prevailed. The Romans, being preſſed on every ſide, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving ſix thouſand men dead upon the field of battle. But the enemy had no great reaſon to boaſt of their triumph, as they had four thouſand ſlain; ſo that Pyrrhus replied to one of his ſoldiers, who was congratulating him upon his victory, "One ſuch triumph more, and I ſhall be undone."

This

This battle finiſhed the campaign; the next ſeaſon began with equal vigour on both ſides, Pyrrhus having received new ſuccours from home. While the two armies were approaching, and yet but at a ſmall diſtance from each other, a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's phyſician, importing, that, for a proper reward, he would take him off by poiſon, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt all the honeſt indignation at this baſe propoſal, that was conſiſtent with his former character; he communicated it to his colleague, and inſtantly gave it as his opinion, that Pyrrhus ſhould be informed of the treachery that was plotted againſt him. Accordingly, letters were diſpatched for that purpoſe, informing Pyrrhus of the affair, and alledging the unfortunate choice of his friends and enemies. That he had truſted and promoted murderers, while he carried his reſentment againſt the generous and the brave. Pyrrhus now began to find that theſe bold barbarians were by degrees ſchooled into refinement, and would not ſuffer him to be their ſuperior even in generoſity: he received the meſſage with as much amazement at their condour, as indignation at his phyſician's treachery. "Admirable Fabricius!" cried he, "it would be as "eaſy to turn the ſun from its courſe, as thee from "the paths of honour." Then making the proper enquiry amongſt his ſervants, and having diſcovered the treaſon, he ordered his phyſician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately ſent to Rome all his priſoners without ranſom, and again deſired to negociate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refuſed him peace, but upon the ſame conditions they had offered before.

So that, after an interval of two years, Pyrrhus, having encreaſed his army by new levies, ſent one

part of his army to oppoſe the march of Lentulus, the Roman conſul, while he himſelf went to attack Curius Dentatus the other in command, before his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to ſurprize the enemy by night; but unfortunately paſſing through woods, and his lights failing him, his men loſt their way, ſo that at the approach of morning, he ſaw himſelf in ſight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive him. The vanguard of both armies ſoon met, in which the Romans had the advantage. Soon after a general engagement enſuing, Pyrrhus finding the balance of the victory turning ſtill againſt him, had once more recourſe to his elephants. Theſe, however, the Romans were then too well aequainted with to feel any vain terrors from; and having found that fire was the moſt effectual means to repel them, they cauſed a number of balls to be made, compoſed of flax and roſin, which were thrown againſt them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly oppoſed by the ſoldiers, could no longer be brought on, but ran back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and filling all places with terror and confuſion. Thus victory, at length, declared in favour of Rome: Pyrrhus, in vain, attempted to ſtop the flight and ſlaughter of his troops; he loſt not only twenty-three thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers, but his camp was alſo taken. This ſerved as a new leſſon to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement: they had foremerly pitched their tents without order; but by this new capture, they were taught to meaſure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; ſo that many of their ſucceeding victories are to be aſcribed to their improved method of encamping.

Pyrrhus thus finding all hopes fruitleſs, he reſolved to leave Italy, where he found only deſperate enemies

enemies and faithleſs allies: accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them, that he had received aſſurances from Greece, of ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and deſiring them to wait the event with tranquillity, the night following embarked his troops, and returned undiſturbed into his native kingdom with the remains of his ſhattered forces, leaving a garriſon in Tarentum merely to ſave appearances, and, in this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus, after ſix years continuance.

As for the poor luxurious Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they ſoon began to find a worſe enemy in the garriſon that was left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them from without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become ſo great, that nothing but the fear of their old inveterate enemies, the Romans, could equal it. In this diſtreſs they applied to the Cathaginians, who with a large fleet came and blocked up the port of Tarentum; ſo that this unfortunate people, once famous through Italy for their refinements and pleaſures, now ſaw themſelves contended for by three different armies, without the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garriſon to their intereſt; after which, they eaſily became maſters of the city, and demoliſhed its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.

CHAP. XIV.

From the beginning of the firſt Punic war to the beginning of the ſecond, when the Romans began to grow powerful by ſea.

[U. C. 489.]

THE Romans having deſtroyed all rival pretenſions at home, began to pant after foreign conqueſts. The Carthaginians were at that time in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Sicily, and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become maſters of the whole iſland. This opportunity at length offered. Hiero, king of Syracuſe, one of the ſtates of that iſland, which was as yet unconquered, entreated their aid againſt the Mamertines, a little people of the ſame country, and they ſent him ſupplies both by ſea and land. The Mamertines, on the other hand, to ſhield off impending ruin, put themſelves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, not thinking the Mamertines worthy of the name of allies, inſtead of profeſſing to aſſiſt them, boldly declared war againſt Carthage, alledging as a reaſon, the aſſiſtance which Carthage had lately ſent to the ſouthern parts of Italy againſt the Romans. In this manner a war was declared between theſe two powerful ſtates, both grown too great to continue patient ſpectators of each others encreaſe.

Carthage, a colony of the Phœnicians, was built on the coaſt of Africa, near the place where Tunis now ſtands, about an hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been long growing into power, ſo it had extended its dominions all along the coaſts. But its chief ſtrength lay in its fleets and commerce: thus circumſtanced, theſe

theſe two great powers began what is called the firſt Punic war. The Carthaginians, poſſeſſed of gold and ſilver, which might be exhauſted; the Romans famous for perſeverance, patriotiſm, and poverty, which ſeemed to gather ſtrength by every defeat.

But there ſeemed to be an inſurmountable obſtacle to the ambitious views of Rome, as they had no fleet, or at leaſt what deſerved that title; while the Carthaginians had the entire command at ſea, and kept all the maritime towns under obedience. In ſuch a ſituation, any people but the Romans would have reſted contented, under diſadvantages which nature ſeemed to have impoſed; but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. They began to apply themſelves to maritime affairs; and, though without ſhipwrights to build, or ſeamen to navigate a fleet, they reſolved to ſurmount every obſtacle with inflexible perſeverance. A Carthaginian veſſel happened to be in a ſtorm driven a ſhore, and this was ſufficient to ſerve as a model. The conſul Duillius was the firſt who ventured to ſea with his new conſtructed armament; and, though far inferior to the enemy in the management of his fleet, yet he gained the firſt naval victory, the Carthaginians loſing fifty of their ſhips, and the undiſturbed ſovereignty of the ſea, which they valued more.

But the conqueſt of Sicily, was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. For this reaſon, the ſenate reſolved to carry the war into Africa itſelf, and accordingly they ſent Regulus and Manlius, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, to make the invaſion. Regulus was reckoned the moſt conſummate warrior that Rome could then produce; and a profeſſed example of frugal ſeverity. His patriotiſm was ſtill greater than his temperance; all the private paſſions ſeemed extinguiſhed in him, or they were all ſwallowed up in one great ruling affection,

the love of his country. The two generals ſet ſail with their fleet, which was the greateſt that had ever yet left an Italian port, carrying an hundred and forty thouſand men. They were met by the Carthaginians, with a fleet as powerful, and men better uſed to the ſea. While the fight continued, rather between the ſhips than the men, at a diſtance, the Carthaginians ſeemed ſucceſsful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame, was apparent. The reſolution of the Romans was crowned with ſucceſs; the enemies fleet were diſperſed, and fifty-four of their veſſels taken. The conſequence of this victory was an immediate deſcent upon the coaſts of Africa, and the capture of the city Clupea; together with twenty thouſand men who were made priſoners of war.

The ſenate being informed of theſe great ſucceſſes, and applied to for freſh inſtructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to ſuperintend the Sicilian war; and directed that Regulus ſhould continue in Africa, to proſecute his victories there.

A battle enſued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and ſome of its beſt troops were cut off. This freſh victory contributed to throw them into the utmoſt deſpair; more than eighty of their towns ſubmitted to the Romans. In this diſtreſs, the Carthaginians, deſtitute of generals at home, were obliged to ſend to Lacedemon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them.

This general began by giving the magiſtrates proper inſtructions for levying their men: he aſſured them, that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the ſtrength of the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own generals; he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and aſſured them of an eaſy victory. The whole city ſeemed

once

once more revived from deſpondence, by the exhortations of a ſingle ſtranger; and ſoon, from hope, grew into confidence. This was the ſpirit the Grecian general wiſhed to excite in them; ſo that when he ſaw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The Lacedemonian made the moſt ſkilful diſpoſition of his forces; he placed his cavalry in the wings; he diſpoſed the elephants at proper intervals, behind the line of the heavy-armed infantry; and, bringing up the light-armed troops before, he ordered them to retire through the line of infantry, after they had diſcharged their weapons. At length both armies engaging, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Romans were overthrown with dreadful ſlaughter; the greateſt part of their army being deſtroyed, and Regulus himſelf taken priſoner. Several other diſtreſſes of the Romans followed ſoon after this. They loſt their whole fleet in a ſtorm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by Karthalo, the Carthaginian general. They undertook to build a new fleet, which alſo ſhared the fate of the former; the mariners, as yet unacquainted with the Mediterranean ſhores, drove it upon quickſands; and, ſoon after, the greateſt part periſhed in a ſtorm.

Mean time, the Carthaginians being thus ſucceſsful, were deſirous of a new treaty for peace, hoping to have better terms than thoſe inſiſted upon by Regulus. For this purpoſe they ſuppoſed, that he, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon, confined and chained, would be a proper ſolicitor. It was expected, that, being wearied with impriſonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to perſuade his countrymen to a diſcontinuance of the war, which only prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly ſent with their ambaſſadors to Rome, but with a promiſe, previouſly exacted from him, to return in caſe of being unſucceſsful. He was even given

given to underſtand, that his life depended upon the ſucceſs of his negociation.

When this old general, together with the ambaſſadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate his return. Their acclamations reſounded through the city; but Regulus refuſed, with ſettled melancholy, to enter the gates. It was in vain that he was entreated on every ſide to viſit once more his little dwelling, and ſhare in that joy which his reurn had inſpired. He perſiſted in ſaying, that he was now but a ſlave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake in the liberal honours of his country. The ſenate aſſembling without the walls, as uſual, to give audience to the ambaſſadors, Regulus opened his commiſſion as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council, and their ambaſſadors ſeconded his propoſals. The ſenate were by this time, themſelves weary of a war, which had been protracted above eight years, and were no way diſinclinable to a peace. It only remained for Regulus himſelf to give his opinion, who when it came to his turn to ſpeak, to the ſurprize of all the world, gave his voice for continuing the war. So unexpected an advice not a little diſturbed the ſenate: they pitied, as well as admired a man who had uſed ſuch eloquence againſt his private intereſt, and could not conlude upon a meaſure which was to terminate in his ruin. But he ſoon relieved their embarraſſment by breaking off the treaty, and by riſing in order to return to his bonds and confinements. It was in vain that the ſenate and all his deareſt friends entreated his ſtay; he ſtill repreſſed their ſolicitations. Marcia his wife, with her little children, filled the city with her lamentations, and vainly entreated to be permitted to ſee him: he ſtill obſtinately perſiſted in keeping his promiſe; and, though ſufficiently appriſed of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family,

family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambaſſadors for Carthage.

Nothing could equal the fury and the diſappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambaſſadors, that Regulus, inſtead of haſtening a peace had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to puniſh his conduct with the moſt ſtudied tortures. Firſt, his eyelids were cut off, and then he was remanded to priſon. He was, after ſome days, again brought out and expoſed with his face oppoſite the burning ſun. At laſt, when malice was fatigued with ſtudying all the arts of torture, he was put into a barrel ſtuck full of nails that pointed inwards, and in this painful poſition he continued till he died.

Both ſides now took up arms with more than former animoſity. At length the Roman perſeverance was crowned with ſucceſs, one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo, the conſul, once more ſhewed them the way to naval victory, by defeating a large ſquadron of the enemies ſhips; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory ſtill more complete, in which the power of Carthage ſeemed totally deſtroyed at ſea, by the loſs of an hundred and twenty ſhips, according to the ſmalleſt computation. This loſs brought the Carthaginians to ſue for peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but, ſtill inflexible in its demands, exacted the ſame conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. Theſe were, that they ſhould lay down a thouſand talents of ſilver, to defray the charge of the war; and ſhould pay two thouſand two hundred more, in ten years time: that they ſhould quit Sicily, with all ſuch iſlands as they poſſeſſed near it: that they ſhould never make war againſt the allies of Rome, or come with any veſſels of war within the Roman dominions: and laſtly, that all their priſoners and deſerters ſhould

be

U.C. 513. be delivered up without ranſom. To theſe hard conditions, the Carthaginians, now exhauſted, readily ſubſcribed; and thus ended the firſt Punic war, which had laſted twenty-four years, and, in ſome meaſure, had drained both nations of every reſource to begin another.

CHAP. XV.

From the end of the firſt Punic war to the end of the ſecond.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and Romans, a profound peace enſued, and, in about ſix years after, the temple of Janus was ſhut for the ſecond time ſince the foundation of the city. The Romans being thus in friendſhip with all nations, had an opportunity of turning to the arts of peace: they now began to have a reliſh for poetry, the firſt liberal art which riſes in every civilized nation, and the firſt alſo that decays. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of their loweſt buffoons: they had ſports called Feſcennini, in which a few debauched actors made their own parts, while raillery and ſmut ſupplied the place of humour. To theſe a compoſition of a higher kind ſucceeded which they called ſatire; which was a kind of dramatic poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed out, and made an object of deriſion to the vulgar. After theſe, came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greeks; and, indeed, the firſt dramatic poet of Rome, whoſe name was Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Grecian. The inſtant theſe finer kinds of compoſition appeared, this great people rejected their former impurities with diſdain. From thenceforward they laboured upon the Grecian model;

U.C. 514.

model; and, though they were never able to rival their maſters in dramatic compoſition, they ſoon ſurpaſſed them in many of the more ſoothing kinds of poetry. Elegiac, paſtoral, and didactic compoſitions, began to aſſume new beauties in the Roman language; and ſatire, not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a noble ſort, invented by Lucilius, was all their own.

While they were thus admitting the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of making freſh preparations for war: all intervals of eaſe ſeemed rather to give freſh vigour for new deſigns, than to relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians were the firſt people upon whom they tried their ſtrength, after ſome continuance of peace. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with impunity, happened to make depredations upon ſome of the trading ſubjects of Rome: this being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, ſhe, inſtead of granting redreſs, ordered the ambaſſador, that was ſent to demand reſtitution, to be murdered. A war enſued, in which the Romans were victorious; moſt of the Illyric towns were ſurrendered to the conſuls, and a peace at laſt concluded, by which the greateſt part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the reſt, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians ſhould not ſail beyond the river Liſſus, with more than two barks, and thoſe unarmed. 527.

The Gauls were the next people that incurred the diſpleaſure of the Romans. Suppoſing a time of peace, when the armies were diſbanded, a proper ſeaſon for new irruptions, this barbarous people invited freſh forces from beyond the Alps, and entering Etruria, waſted all with fire and ſword, till they came within about three days journey of Rome. A prætor and a conſul were ſent to oppoſe them, who, now inſtructed in the improved arts of war, were enabled

enabled to ſurround the Gauls, who ſtill retained their primæval barbarity. It was in vain that thoſe hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppoſe their adverſaries; their naked bodies and undiſciplined forces were unable to withſtand the ſhock of an enemy completely armed, and ſkilled in military evolutions. A miſerable ſlaughter enſued, in which forty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. This victory was followed by another gained over them by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus, their king, with his own hand, and gained the third royal ſpoils that were yet obtained at Rome. Theſe conqueſts forced them to beg a peace, the conditions of which ſerved greatly to enlarge the empire. Thus the Romans went on with ſucceſs; they had now totally recovered their former loſſes, and only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms, to begin a new war.

The Carthaginians had only made a peace becauſe they were no longer able to continue the war. They, therefore, took the earlieſt opportunity of breaking the treaty: they beſieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and, though deſired to deſiſt, proſecuted their operations with vigour. Ambaſſadors were ſent, in conſequence, from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had adviſed this meaſure, ſhould be delivered up; which being refuſed, both ſides prepared for a ſecond Punic war.

The Carthaginians truſted the management of it, on their ſide, to Hannibal, the ſon of Amilcar. This extraordinary man had been made the ſworn foe of Rome, almoſt from his infancy; for, while yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he never would be in friendſhip with the Romans, nor deſiſt from oppoſing

poſing their power, until he or they ſhould be no more. On his firſt appearance in the field, he reconciled, in his own perſon, the moſt juſt method of commanding, with the moſt perfect obedience to his ſuperiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was poſſeſſed of the greateſt courage in oppoſing danger, and the greateſt preſence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to ſubdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his ſpirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took ſuſtenance to content nature, and not to delight his appetite. He was the beſt horſeman, and the ſwifteſt runner of his time. This great general, who is conſidered as the moſt ſkilful of antiquity, having over-run all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations, he reſolved to carry the war into Italy itſelf, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpoſe, leaving Hanno with a ſufficient force to guard his conqueſts in Spain, he croſſed the Pyrenean mountains into Gaul, with an army of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe. He quickly traverſed that country, which was then wild and extenſive, and filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain its foreſts and rivers appeared to intimidate him; in vain the Rhone with its rapid current, and its banks covered with enemies; or the Dura branched out into numberleſs channels, oppoſed his way; he paſſed them all with perſeverance, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he was to explore a new paſſage into Italy. It was in the midſt of winter, when this aſtoniſhing project was undertaken. The ſeaſon added new horrors to a ſcene, that nature had already crowded with objects of diſmay. The prodigious height and tremendous ſteepneſs of the mountains, capped with ſnow; the people barbarous and fierce, dreſſed in ſkins, with long and ſhaggy hair; preſent-

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ed a picture that impreſſed the beholders with aſtoniſhment and terror. But nothing was capable of ſubduing the courage of the Carthaginian general; for, at the end of fifteen days ſpent in croſſing the Alps, he found himſelf in the plains of Italy, with about half his army remaining; the reſt having died of the cold, or being cut off by the natives.

As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal, at the head of an immenſe army, was croſſing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, the ſenate ſent Scipio to oppoſe him, who was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. In the mean time, Hannibal being thus victorious, took the moſt prudent precautions to encreaſe his army: giving orders always to ſpare the poſſeſſions of the Gauls, while his depredations were permitted upon thoſe of Rome; and this ſo pleaſed that ſimple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his ſtandard with alacrity.

The ſecond battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general being appriſed of the Roman impetuoſity, of which he always availed himſelf in almoſt every engagement, had ſent off a body of a thouſand horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind, acroſs the river, to ravage the enemies country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force, who, ſeeming to be defeated, took to the river, and were as eagerly purſued by Sempronius, the conſul. It was not, however, till his army was got upon the oppoſite bank, that he perceived himſelf half conquered already, his men being fatigued with wading up to their armpits, and quite benumbed by the intenſe coldneſs of the water. A total rout enſued; twenty-ſix thouſand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to repaſs the river. A body of ten thouſand men were all that ſurvived; who, finding themſelves encloſed on every

ſide,

ſide, broke deſperately through the enemies ranks, and fought retreating, till they found ſhelter in the city of Placentia.

The third defeat the Romans ſuſtained was at the lake of Thraſimene; near to which was a chain of mountains, and, between theſe and the lake, a narrow paſſage leading to a valley that was emboſomed in hills. It was upon theſe hills that Hannibal diſpoſed his beſt troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius, the Roman general, led his men to attack him. A diſpoſition every way ſo favourable for the Carthaginians, was alſo aſſiſted by accident; for a miſt riſing from the lake, kept the Romans from ſeeing their enemies; while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, ſaw the whole diſpoſition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was ſuch as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals; the Roman army was broken, and ſlaughtered, almoſt before they could perceive the enemy that deſtroyed them. About fifteen thouſand Romans, together with Flaminius himſelf, fell in the valley, and ſix thouſand more were obliged to yield themſelves priſoners of war.

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after the general conſternation was allayed, the ſenate, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to elect a commander with abſolute authority, in whom they might repoſe their laſt and greateſt expectations. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, but with a happy mixture of caution. He was appriſed that the only way to humble the Carthaginians at ſuch a diſtance from home, was rather by haraſſing them than by fighting. For this purpoſe, he always encamped upon the higheſt grounds, inacceſſible to the enemies cavalry. Whenever they moved he moved, watched their motions, ſtraightened their quarters, and cut off their proviſions.

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By theſe arts, Fabius had actually, at one time, encloſed Hannibal among mountains, where it was impoſſible to winter; and yet, from which it was almoſt impracticable to extricate his army without imminent danger. In this exigence, nothing but one of thoſe ſtratagems of war, which fall to the lot of great abilities only to invent, could ſave him: he ordered a number of ſmall fagots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thouſand oxen, that he had in his camp, and that they ſhould be driven towards the enemy. Theſe toſſing their heads, and running up the ſides of the mountains, ſeemed to fill the whole neighbouring foreſt with fire; while the centinels that were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain, ſeeing ſuch a number of flames advancing towards their poſts, fled in conſternation, ſuppoſing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this ſtratagem, Hannibal drew off his army, and eſcaped through the defiles that led beneath the hills, though with conſiderable damage to his rear.

Soon after, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, his time being expired, and Terentius Varro was choſen by the majority to ſucceed to the command. This Tarentius Varro was a man ſprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a diſpoſition entirely oppoſite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impreſſed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his plebeian colleague.

The Romans finding themſelves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, being almoſt ninety thouſand ſtrong, now again reſolved to meet Hannibal, who was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a wind that for a certain ſeaſon blows ſtill one way, in his rear, which raiſing great clouds of

of duſt from the parched plains behind, he knew muſt greatly diſtreſs an approaching enemy. In this ſituation he waited the coming up of the Romans, with an army of forty thouſand foot and half that number of cavalry. The two conſuls ſoon appeared, to his wiſh, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the command every day by turns. On the firſt day of their arrival, it falling to the lot of Æmilius to command, he was entirely averſe to engaging. The next day, however, it being come to Varro's turn to command, he, without aſking his colleague's concurrence, gave the ſignal for battle; and paſſing the river Auſidus, that lay between both armies, put his forces in array. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horſe engaged ſoon after; and the Roman cavalry being unable to ſtand againſt thoſe of Numidia, the legions came up to reinforce them. It was then that the conflict became general; the Roman ſoldiers, for a long time, endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Hannibal obſerving, ordered part of thoſe troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to emboſom themſelves within a choſen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on their wing, ſo as to ſurround them: upon that a terrible ſlaughter began to enſue of the Romans, fatigued with repeated attacks, from the Africans, who were freſh and vigorous. At laſt the rout became general in every part of the Roman army; the boaſtings of Varro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been terribly wounded by a ſlinger in the very beginning of the engagement, ſtill feebly led on his body of horſe, and did all that could be done to make head againſt the enemy; however, being unable to ſit on horſeback, he was forced to diſmount. It was in this deplorable condition of things, that one Lentulus, a tribune of the army, as he was flying on horſeback

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from the enemy, which at ſome diſtance purſued him, met Æmilius ſitting upon a ſtone, covered over with blood and wounds, and waiting for the coming up of the purſuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you, at leaſt, are guiltleſs of this "day's ſlaughter: take my horſe, and fly." "I "thank thee, Lentulus," cryed the dying conſul, "all is over, my part is choſen: go, I command "thee, and tell the ſenate, from me, to fortify "Rome againſt the approach of the conqueror. Tell "Fabius alſo, that Æmilius, while living, ever re-"membered his advice; and now, dying, approves "it." While he was yet ſpeaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, before he was out of view, ſaw the conſul expire, feebly fighting in the midſt of hundreds. In this battle the Romans loſt fifty thouſand men, and ſo many knights, that it is ſaid, Hannibal ſent three buſhels of gold rings to Carthage, which thoſe of this order had worn on their fingers.

When the firſt conſternation was abated, after this dreadful blow, at Rome, the ſenate came to a general reſolution, to create a dictator, in order to give ſtrength to their government. A ſhort time after, Varro arrived, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army; and, as he had been the principal cauſe of the late calamity, it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the ſenate would ſeverely reprimand the raſhneſs of his conduct. But far otherwiſe! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the ſenate returned him thanks, that he had not deſpaired of the ſafety of Rome. Fabius, who was conſidered as the ſhield of Rome, and Marcellus as the ſword, were appointed to lead the armies; and, though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refuſed it, but upon condition that he ſhould quit Italy.—Terms ſimilar to thoſe they had formerly inſiſted upon from Pyrrhus.

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In the mean time, Hannibal, either finding the impoſſibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces reſt after ſuch a mighty victory, led them to Capua, where he reſolved to winter. This city had long been conſidered as the nurſe of luxury, and the corrupter of all military virtue; here, therefore, a new ſcene of pleaſure opened to his barbarian troops; and they at once gave themſelves up to the intoxication, till, from being hardy veterans, they became infirm rioters.

Hitherto we have found this great man ſucceſsful; but now we are to reverſe the picture, and ſurvey him ſtruggling with accumulated misfortunes, and, at laſt, ſinking beneath them.

His firſt loſs was at the ſiege of Nola, where Marcellus the prætor made a ſucceſsful ſally. He ſome time after attempted to raiſe the ſiege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches, but he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. He then made a feint of going to beſiege Rome; but finding a ſuperior army ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire. For ſome years after, he fought with various ſucceſs; Marcellus, his opponent, ſometimes gaining, and ſometimes loſing the advantage, but coming to no deciſive engagement. U.C. 544.

The ſenate of Carthage, at length, came to a reſolution of ſending his brother Aſdrubal to his aſſiſtance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Aſdrubal's march being made known to the conſuls, Livius and Nero, they went againſt him with great expedition, and ſurrounding him in a place, into which he was lead by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to peices. Hannibal had long expected theſe ſuccours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been aſſured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Aſdrubal's head to be

cut

cut off and thrown into his brother's camp. The Carthaginian general, now, therfore, began to perceive the approaches of the downfall of Carthage; and could not help, with a ſigh, obſerving to thoſe about him, that fortune ſeemed fatigued with granting her favours.

In the mean time, fortune ſeemed to favour the Roman arms in other parts; Marcellus took the city of Syracuſe in Sicily, which was defended by the machines and the fires of Archimedes the mathematician.

The inhabitants were put to the ſword; and among the reſt, Archimedes himſelf, who was found meditating in his ſtudy, by a Roman ſoldier. Marcelius, the general, was not a little grieved at his death. A paſſion for letters, at that time, began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which his own works have long ſurvived.

As to their fortunes in Spain, though for a while they appeared doubtful, two of the Scipios being ſlain, and Claudius Nero, the governor of the province, appearing much an under-match for the cunning of the Carthaginian general; yet they ſoon recovered their complexion under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who ſued for the office of proconſul, to that kingdom, at a time when every one elſe was willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty four years old, had all the qualifications requiſite for forming a great general, and a good man: he united the greateſt courage with the greateſt tenderneſs; ſuperior to Hannibal in the arts of peace, and almoſt his equal in thoſe of war. His father had been killed in Spain, ſo that he ſeemed to have an hereditary claim to attack that country. He therefore appeared irreſiſtible, obtaining many great victories,

yet

yet ſubduing ſtill more by his generoſity, mildneſs, and benevolent diſpoſition, than by the force of his arms.

It was ſhortly after, that he returned with an army from the conqueſt of Spain, and was made conſul at the age of twenty-nine. It was at firſt ſuppoſed, he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him from thence; but he had already formed a wiſer plan, which was to carry the war into Africa, and, while the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employmen; for, in a ſhort time, Hanno oppoſed him, but he was defeated and ſlain. Syphax, the uſurper of Numidia, led up a large army againſt him. The Roman general, for a time, declined fighting, till finding an opportunity, he ſet fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking them in the midſt of the confuſion, killed forty thouſand men, and took ſix thouſand priſoners.

The Carthaginians now beginning to be terrified at their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's ſucceſſes, determined to recall Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppoſe the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, with a poſitive command, for him to return and oppoſe the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a ſiege. Nothing could exceed the regret and diſappointment of Hannibal, upon receiving this order. However, he obeyed the orders of his infatuated country, with the ſame ſubmiſſion that the meaneſt ſoldier would have done, and took leave of Italy, with tears in his eyes, after having kept poſſeſſion of the moſt beautiful parts of it for above fifteen years.

Upon his arrival at Leptis, in Africa, from whence he marched to Adrumetum, he at laſt approached

Zama, a city within five days journey of Carthage. Scipo, in the mean time, led his army to meet him, joined by Maſſiniſſa, with ſix thouſand horſe; and, to ſhew his rival in the field, how little he feared his approach, ſent back the ſpies which were ſent to explore his camp, having previouſly ſhewn them the whole, with directions to inform Hannibal of what they had ſeen. The Carthaginian general, conſcious of his inferiority, endeavoured to diſcontinue the war by negociation; and deſired a meeting with Scipio, to confer upon terms of peace, to which the Roman general aſſented. But, after a long conference, both ſides parting diſſatisfied, they returned to their camps, to prepare for deciding the controverſy by the ſword. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the empire that was in diſpute. The diſpoſition Hannibal made of his men, is ſaid, by the ſkilful in the art of war, to be ſuperior to any, even of his former arrangements. The battle began with the elephants, on the ſide of the Carthaginians, which being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the ſlingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and cauſed much confuſion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of the horſe, in which their greateſt ſtrength conſiſted, the heavy infantry joined on both ſides; but the Romans being ſtronger of body, the Carthaginians were obliged to give ground. In the mean time, Maſſiniſſa, who had been in purſuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout enſued, twenty thouſand men were killed in the battle or the purſuit, and as many were taken priſoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted ſoldier could perform, fled with a ſmall body of horſe to Adrumetum,

tum, fortune ſeeming to delight in confounding his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, offered conditions to the Romans, which they dictated, not as rivals, but as ſovereigns. By this treaty, the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the Iſlands in the Mediterranean ſea. They were bound to pay ten thouſand talents in fifty years; to give hoſtages for the delivery of their ſhips and their elephants; to reſtore Maſſiniſſa all the territories that had been taken from him, and not to make war in Africa, but by the permiſſion of the Romans. Thus ended the ſecond Punic war, ſeventeen years after it had begun.

CHAP. XVI.

From the end of the ſecond Punic war to the end of the third, which terminated in the deſtruction of Carthage.

WHILE the Romans were engaged with Hannibal, they carried on alſo a vigorous war againſt Philip, king of Macedonia, not a little incited thereto by the prayers of the Athenians; who, from once controlling the power of Perſia, were now unable to defend themſelves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, alſo entered into the confederacy againſt Philip. He was more than once defeated by Galba, the conſul, who was ſent againſt him. He attempted to beſiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. He attempted to take poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them, by Quintus Flaminius, with great ſlaughter. He attempted to take refuge in Theſſaly, where he was again defeated, with conſiderable loſs,

and obliged to beg a peace, upon condition of paying a thouſand talents, half down, and the other half in the ſpace of ten years. The peace, with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of ſhewing their generoſity, by reſtoring liberty to Greece.

Antiochus, king of Syria, was next brought to ſubmit to the Roman arms; after ſome embaſſies on the one ſide and the other, a war was declared againſt him, five years after the concluſion of the Macedonian war.

After various miſtakes and miſconduct, he attempted to obtain a peace, by offering to quit all his places in Europe; and ſuch in Aſia as profeſſed alliance to Rome. But it was now too late, Scipio perceiving his own ſuperiority, was reſolved to avail himſelf of it. Antiochus, thus driven into reſiſtance, for ſome time retreated before the enemy, till, being preſſed heard, near the city of Magneſia, he was forced to draw out his men, to the number of ſeventy thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. Scipio oppoſed him with forces, as much inferior in number as they were ſuperior in courage and diſcipline. Antiochus therefore was in a ſhort time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with ſcythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much to his overthrow. Being thus reduced to the laſt extremity, he was glad to procure peace of the Romans, upon their own terms; which were, to pay fifteen thouſand talents towards the expences of the war; to quit all his poſſeſſions in Europe, and likewiſe all in Aſia, on that ſide Mount Taurus; to give twenty hoſtages, as pledges of his fidelity; and, to deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome.

In the mean time, Hannibal, whoſe deſtruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This conſummate general had been long a wanderer, and an exile

exile from his ungrateful country. He had taken refuge at the court of Anticchus, who, at firſt, gave him a ſincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which ſtation he ſhewed his uſual ſkill in ſtratagem. But he ſoon ſunk in the Syrian's eſteem, for having adviſed ſchemes, which that monarch had neither genius to underſtand, nor talents to execute. Sure, therefore, to find no ſafety or protection, he departed by ſtealth; and, after wandering for a time among petty ſtates, who had neither power nor generoſity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Pruſias, king of Bithynia. In the mean time, the Romans, with a vindictive ſpirit utterly unworthy of them, ſent Æmilius, one of their moſt celebrated generals, to demand him of this king; who fearing the reſentment of Rome, and willing to conſiliate their friendſhip, by this breach of hoſpitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intent to deliver him up. The poor old general, thus implacably perſecuted from one country to another, and finding all methods of ſafety cut off, determined to die: he therefore, deſired one of his followers to bring him poiſon, which he had ready for this exigence; and drinking it, he expired, as he had lived, with intrepid bravery.

A ſecond Macedonian war was ſoon after proclaimed againſt Perſeus, the ſon of Philip, whom we have already ſeen obliged to beg peace of the Romans. Perſeus, in order to ſecure the crown, had contrived to murder his brother Demetrius; and, upon the death of his father, pleaſed with the hopes of imaginary triumphs, made war againſt Rome. During the courſe of this war, which continued about three years, many opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but being perfectly ignorant how to take advantage of their raſhneſs, he ſpent the time in empty U.C. 583.

overures for a peace. At length, Æmilius gave him a deciſive overthrow near the river Enipeus. He attempted to procure ſafety by flying into Crete; but being abandoned by all, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf, and to grace the ſplendid triumph of the Roman general.

About this time, Maſſiniſſa, the Numidian, having made ſome incurſions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invaſion. This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans, who pretended to conſider this conduct of theirs as an infraction of the treaty, ſent to make a complaint. The abaſſadors who were employed upon this occaſion finding the city very rich and flouriſhing, from the long interval of peace which it had now enjoyed for near fifty years, either from motives of avarice to poſſeſs its plunder, or from fear of its growing greatneſs, inſiſted much on the neceſſity of a war, which was ſoon after proclaimed, and the conſuls ſet out with a thorough reſolution utterly to demoliſh Carthage.

The wretched Carthaginians finding that the conquerors would not deſiſt from making demands, while they had any thing left to ſupply, attempted to ſoften the victors by ſubmiſſion; but they received orders to leave their city, which was to be levelled with the ground. This ſevere command they received with all the concern and diſtreſs of deſpairing people: they implored for a reſpite from ſuch an hard ſentence; they uſed tears and lamentations: but finding the conſuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy reſolution, prepared to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, and to fight to the laſt for their ſeat of empire.

Thoſe veſſels, therefore, of gold and ſilver, which their luxury had taken ſuch pride in, were converted into arms. The women parted alſo with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair to be converted

verted into ſtrings for the bowmen. Aſdrubal, who had been lately condemned for oppoſing the Romans, was now taken from priſon to head their army; and ſuch preparations were made, that, when the conſuls came before the city, which they expected to find an eaſy conqueſt, they met with ſuch reſiſtance, as quite diſpirited their forces, and ſhook their reſolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls, with diſadvantage to the aſſailants; ſo that the ſiege would have been diſcontinued, had not Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted ſon of Africanus, who was now appointed to command it, uſed as much ſkill to ſave his forces after a defeat, as to inſpire them with freſh hopes of victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to ſeduce Pharneas, the maſter of the Carthaginian horſe, who came over to his ſide. The unhappy townſmen, ſoon ſaw the enemy make nearer approaches; the wall which led to the haven was quickly demoliſhed, ſoon after, the Forum itſelf was taken, which offered the conquerors, a deplorable ſpectacle of houſes nodding to the fall, heaps of men lying dead, hundereds of the wounded ſtruggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel ſoon after ſurrendered at diſcretion. All now but the temple was ſubdued, and that was defended by deſerters from the Roman army, and thoſe who had been moſt forward to undertake the war. Theſe, however, expecting no mercy, and finding their condition deſperate, ſet fire to the building, and voluntarily periſhed in the flames. This was the end of one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, both for arts, opulence, ad extent of dominion; it had rivalled Rome for above an hundred years, and, at one time, was thought to have the ſuperiority.

This conqueſt over Carthage, was ſoon followed by many over other ſtates. Corinth, one of the nobleſt

cities of Greece, in the ſame year, ſuſtained the ſame fate, being entered by Mummius, the conſul, and levelled to the ground. Scipio alſo having laid ſiege to Numantia, the ſtrongeſt city in Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, fired the city over their own heads; and all, to a man, expired in the flames. Thus Spain became a province belonging to Rome, and was governed thenceforward by two annual prætors.

CHAP. XVII.

From the deſtruction of Carthage to the end of the ſedition of the Gracchi.

[U. C. 621.]

THE Romans now being left without a rival, the triumps and the ſpoils of Aſia, brought in a taſte for ſplendid expence; and theſe produced avarice and inverted ambition. The two Gracchi were the firſt who ſaw this ſtrange corruption among the great, and reſolved to repreſs it, by renewing the Licinian law, which had enacted, that no perſon in the ſtate ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, was a perſon very conſiderable both for the advantages of his body, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandſon, he ſeemed more ambitious of power than deſirous of glory: his compaſſion for the oppreſſed was equal to his animoſity againſt the oppreſſors; but unhappily his paſſions, rather than his reaſon, operated even in his purſuits of virtue; and theſe always drove him beyond the line of duty. This was the diſpoſition of the elder Gracchus, who found the lower part of the people ready to ſecond all his propoſals. This law, though at firſt carried on with proper moderation, greatly diſguſted the rich, who endeavoured

endeavoured to perſuade the people, that the propoſer only aimed at diſturbing the government, and putting all things into confuſion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greateſt eloquence of his time, eaſily wiped off theſe impreſſions fom the minds of the people, already irritated with their wrongs; and, at length, the law was paſſed.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furniſhed Tiberius Graecchus with a new opportunity of gratifying the meaner part of the people, at the expence of the great. This king had by his laſt will left the Romans his heirs; and it was now propoſed, that the money ſo left, ſhould be divided among the poor, in order to furniſh them with proper utenſils for cultivating the lands, which became theirs by the late law of partition. This cauſed ſtill greater diſturbances than before: the ſenate aſſembled upon this occaſion, in order to conſult the moſt proper methods of ſecuring theſe riches to themſelves, which they now valued above the ſafety of the commonwealth: they had numerous dependents, who were willing to give up liberty for plenty and eaſe: theſe therefore, were commanded to be in readineſs, to intimidate the people, who expected no ſuch oppoſition; and who were now attending to the harrangues of Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol. Here, as a clamour was raiſed by the clients of the great on one ſide, and by the favourers of the law on the other, Tiberius found his ſpeech intirely interrupted, and begged, in vain, to be attended to; till at laſt, raiſing his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partizans of the ſenate gave out, that he wanted a diadem. In conſequence of this, an univerſal uproar ſpread itſelf through all ranks of people; the corrupt part of the ſenate were of opinion, that the conſul ſhould defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magiſtrate declining ſuch violence, Scipio Naſica, kinſman to Gracchus,

immedietely roſe up, and, preparing himſelf for the conteſt, deſired that all who would defend the dignity and the authority of the laws, ſhould follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of ſenators and clients, armed with clubs, he went directly to the Capitol, ſtriking down all who ventured to reſiſt. Tiberius perceiving by the tumult, that his life was ſought for, endeavoured to fly; and throwing aſide his robe, to expedite his eſcape, attempted to get through the throng; but happening to fall over a perſon already on the ground, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneſhip, who was of the oppoſite faction, ſtruck him dead with a piece of a ſeat; and [illegible] leſs than three hundred of his hearers ſhared the ſame fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the ſenate reſt here, but extended to numbers of thoſe who ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe; many of them were put to death, many were baniſhed, and nothing was omitted to inſpire the people with an abhorrence of his pretended crimes.

Caius Gracchus, the brother of him who was ſlain, was but twenty-one upon the death of Tiberius, and, as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, ſo he was at firſt unwilling to incur their reſentment, by aims beyond his reach; he therefore lived in retirement, unſeen and almoſt forgotten. But, while he thus ſeemed deſirous of avoiding popularity, he was employing his ſolitude in the ſtudy of eloquence, which was the readieſt means to obtain it: at length, when he thought himſelf qualified to ſerve his country, he offered himſelf candidate for the quæſtorſhip to the army in Sardinia, which he readily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in this office was remarked by all. The king of Numidia ſending a preſent of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambaſſadors to ſay, that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This the ſenate treated with ſcorn, and ordered the ambaſſadors to be diſmiſſed

miſſed with contempt, as ignorant barbarians; which ſo enflamed the reſentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army, to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himſelf for the tribuneſhip of the people. It was then that the great found in this youth, who had been hitherto neglected upon account of his age, a more formidable antogoniſt than ever his brother had been. Notwithſtanding the warmeſt oppoſition from the ſenate, he was declared tribune, by a very large majority, and he now prepared to run the ſame career which his brother had gone before him.

His firſt effort was to have Popilius, one of the moſt inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people, who, rather than ſtand the event of a trial, choſe to go into voluntary baniſhment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium; and, ſoon after, to all the people on that ſide the Alps. He afterwards fixed the price of corn to a moderate ſtandard, and procured a monthly diſtribution of it among the people. He then proceeded to an inſpection into the late corruptions of the ſenate; in which the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the ſale of offices, for at that time a total degeneracy ſeemed to have taken place, a law was made, transferring the power of judging corrupt magiſtrates, from the ſenate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the conſtitution.

Gracchus, by theſe means, being grown not only very popular, but very powerful in the ſtate, was become an object, at which the ſenate aimed all their reſentment. But he ſoon found the populace a faithleſs and unſteady ſupport; they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and to place it upon Druſus, a man inſidiouſly ſet up againſt him by the ſenate. It was in vain, that he revived the Licinian law

law in their favour, and called up ſeveral of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his ſupport; the ſenate ordered them all to depart Rome, and even ſent one ſtranger to priſon, whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendſhip. To this indignity was ſhortly after added a diſgrace of a more fatal tendency; for ſtanding for the tribuneſhip a third time, he was rejected, it being ſuppoſed, that the officers, whoſe duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him, though fairly choſen.

It was now ſeen, that the fate of Gracchus was reſolved on. Opimius, the conſul, was not contented with the protection of all the ſenate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of ſlaves and clients, but ordered a body of Candians, that were mercenaries in the Roman ſervice, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conſcious of the ſuperiority of his forces, he inſulted Gracchus wherever he met him, doing all in his power to produce a quarrel, in which he might have a pretence of diſpatching his enemy in the fray. Gracchus avoided all recrimination, and, as if appriſed of the conſul's deſigns, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not ſo remiſs, but reſolved to oppoſe party againſt party, and for this purpoſe brought up ſeveral countrymen to Rome, who came under pretence of deſiring employment. When the day for determining the controverſy was arrived, the two parties, early in the morning, attended at the Capitol, where, while the conſul was ſacrificing, according to cuſtom, one of the lictors taking up the entrails of the beaſt that was ſlain, in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Fulvius and his party, "You, ye factious citizens, "make way for honeſt men." This inſult ſo provoked the party to whom it was addreſſed, that they inſtantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with

with the inſtruments they uſed in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands. This murder cauſed a great diſturbance in the aſſembly; but particularly Gracchus, who ſaw the conſequences that were likely to enſue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies ſuch advantage over him; but now prepared to lead his followers to mount Aventine. It was there he learned, that proclamation had been made by the conſuls, that whoever ſhould bring either his head, or that of Flaccus, ſhould receive its weight in gold as a reward. It was to no purpoſe, that he ſent the youngeſt ſon of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with propoſals for an accommodation. The ſenate and the conſuls, who were ſenſible of their ſuperiority, rejected all his offers, and reſolved to punith his offence with nothing leſs than death; and they offered pardon alſo to all who ſhould leave him immediately. This produced the deſired effect; the people fell from him by degrees, and left him with very inferior forces. In the mean time, Opimius, the conſul, who thirſted for ſlaughter, leading his forces up to Mount Aventine, fell in among the crowd with ungovernable fury: a terrible ſlaughter of the ſcarce reſiſting multitude enſued, and not leſs than three thouſand citizens were ſlain upon the ſpot. Flaccus attempted to find ſhelter in a ruinous cottage; but being diſcovered, was ſlain, with his eldeſt ſon. Gracchus, at firſt, retired to the temple of Diana, where he was reſolved to die by his own hand; but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Lucinius, who forced him to ſeek ſafety by flight. From thence he made the beſt of his way to croſs a bridge, that led from the city, ſtill attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian ſlave, whoſe name was Philocrates. But his purſuers ſtill preſſed upon him from behind, and when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were

ſoon

ſoon ſlain, defending him againſt the crowd; and he was forced to take refuge, with his ſlave, in a grove beyond the Tyber, which had long been dedicated to the Furies. Here finding himſelf ſurrounded on every ſide, and no way left of eſcaping, he prevailed upon his ſlave to kill him, who immediately after killed himſelf, and fell down dead upon the body of his beloved maſter. The purſuers ſoon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while as a trophy upon a ſpear. Soon after, one Septimuleius carrying it home, there, firſt having ſecretly taken out the brain, he filled it with lead, in order to make it weigh heavier, and thus received of the conſul ſeventeen pounds of gold as his recompence.

Thus died Caius Gracchus, about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and ſix after he began to be active in the commonwealth. He is uſually impeached by hiſtorians, as guilty of ſedition; but from what we ſee of his character, the diſturbance of public tranquility was rather owing to his oppoſers than to him; ſo that inſtead of calling the tumults of that time, the ſedition of the Gracchi, we ſhould rather call them the ſedition of the ſenate againſt the Gracchi, ſince the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law, to which the ſenate had aſſented, and as the deſigns of the former were ſupported by an extraneous armed power from the country, that had never before meddled in the buſineſs of the legiſlation, and whoſe introduction gave a moſt irrecoverable blow to the conſtitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or of patriotiſm, in the promulgation of theſe laws, it is impoſſible to determine; but certain it is, from what appears, that all juſtice was on their ſide, and all injury on that of the ſenate. In fact, this body was now quite changed from that venerable aſſembly, which we have ſeen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal,

nibal, as much by their virtues as by their arms. They were now only to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people by their ſuperior luxuries; and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority, which is gained from riches, and a number of mercenry dependencies. All the venal and the baſe were attached to them from motives of ſelf-intereſt; and they who ſtill ventured to be independent, were borne down, and intirely loſt in the infamous majority. In ſhort, the empire, at this period, came under the government of an hateful ariſtocracy; the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themſelves, and having no longer oppoſite intereſts from thoſe of the ſenate, concurred in their oppreſſions; ſince, as has been ſaid, it was not now the ſtruggle between patricians and plebeians, who only nominally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the ſtate being by theſe means reduced to a degree of hopeleſs ſubjection, inſtead of looking after liberty, only ſought for a leader: while the rich, with all the ſuſpicion of tyrants, terrified at the ſlighteſt appearance of oppoſition, entruſted men with uncontroulable power, from whom they had not ſtrength to withdraw it, when the danger was over. Thus both parts of the ſtate concurred in giving up their freedom; the fears of the ſenate firſt made the dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in his office. Nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the protection of Auguſtus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the ſedition of Gracchus to the perpetual dictatorſhip of Sylla, which was the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of the commonwealth of Rome.

WHILE the Romans were in this ſtate of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheleſs were very ſucceſsful in their tranſactions with regard to foreign powers.

Jugurtha was grandſon to the famous Maſſiniſſa, who ſided againſt Hannibal with Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, and being ſuperior in abilities to both, and greatly in favour with the people, he murdered Hiempſal, the eldeſt ſon, and attempted the ſame by Adherbal the younger, who made his eſcape, and fled to the Romans for ſuccour. Whereupon, Jugurtha, being ſenſible how much avarice and injuſtice had crept into the ſenate, ſent his ambaſſadors with large preſents to Rome, who ſo ſucceſsfully prevailed, that the ſenate decreed him half the kingdom, which he had thus acquired by murder and uſurpation, and ſent ten commiſſioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commiſſioners, of whom Opimius, the murderer of Gracchus was one, willing to follow the example which the ſenate had ſet them, were alſo bribed to beſtow the moſt rich and populus part of the kingdom upon the uſurper; who, for all that, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole. But willing to give a colour to his ambition, he only made in the beginning incurſions upon his colleague's territories, in order to provoke repriſals, which he knew how to convert into ſeeming aggreſſion, in caſe it came before the ſenate. This failing, he reſolved to throw off the maſk;

and

and beſieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, he at length got him into his power and murdered him. The people of Rome, who had ſtill ſome generoſity remaining, unanimouſly complained of this treachery, and procured a decree, that Jugurtha ſhould be ſummoned in perſon before them, to give an account of all ſuch as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himſelf upon the clemency of Rome; but giving the people no ſatisfaction, he had orders to depart the city; and, in the mean time, Albanus, the conſul, was ſent with an army to follow him; who giving up the direction of the army to Aulus, his brother, a perſon every way unqualified for the command, the Romans were compelled to hazard a battle upon diſadvantageous terms; and the whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to paſs under the yoke.

In this condition, Metellus, the ſucceeding conſul, found affairs upon his arrival in Numidea; officers without confidence, an army without diſcipline, and an enemy ever watchful and intriguing. However, by his great attention to buſineſs, and by an integrity that ſhuddered at corruption, he ſoon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the ſpace of two years, Jugurtha was overthrown in ſeveral battles, forced out of his own dominions, and conſtrained to beg a peace. Thus, all things promiſed Metellus an eaſy and certain victory, but he was fruſtrated in his expectations, by the intrigues of Caius Marius, his lieutenant, who came in to reap the harveſt of glory which the other's induſtry had ſown. Caius Marius, was borne in a village near Arpinium, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour. As he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude, as his countenance was frightful. He was a man of extraordinary ſtature, incomparable

parable ſtrength, and undaunted bravery. When Metellus, as has been ſaid, was obliged to ſollicit at Rome for a continuance of his command, Marius, whoſe ambition knew no bounds, was reſolved to obtain it for himſelf, and thus gain all the glory of putting an end to the war. To that end he privately inveighed againſt Metellus by his emiſſaries at Rome; and having excited a ſpirit of diſcontent againſt him, he had leave granted him to go to Rome, to ſtand for the conſulſhip himſelf, which he obtained, contrary to the expectations and intereſt of the nobles.

Marius being thus inveſted with the ſupreme power of managing the war, ſhewed himſelf every way fit for the commiſſion. His vigilance was equal to his valour, and he quickly made himſelf maſter of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince finding himſelf unable to make oppoſition ſingly, was obliged to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to whoſe daughter he was married. A battle ſoon after enſued, in which the Numidians ſurprized the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However, it was but of ſhort continuance; for Marius ſoon after overthrew them in two ſignal engagements, in one of which, not leſs than ninety thouſand of the African army were ſlain. Bocchus now finding the Romans too powerful to be reſiſted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown, to protect that of his ally; he therefore determined to make peace, upon whatever conditions he might obtain it; and accordingly ſent to Rome, imploring protection. The ſenate received the ambaſſadors with their uſual haughtineſs, and, without complying with their requeſt, granted the ſuppliant, not their friendſhip, but their pardon. Nothwithſtanding, after ſome time, he was given to underſtand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Romans, would,

would, in ſome meaſure, conciliate their favour, and ſoften their reſentment. At firſt the pride of Bocchus ſtruggled againſt ſuch a propoſal, but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæſtor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous meaſure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up, being drawn into an ambuſcade, by the ſpecious pretences of his ally, who deluded him by deſiring a conference; and being made a priſoner, he was carried by Marius to Rome, loaded with chains, a deplorable inſtance of blaſted ambition. He did not long ſurvive his overthrow, being condemned by the ſenate to be ſtarved to death in priſon, a ſhort time after he had adorned the triumph of the conqueror.

Marius, by this and two ſucceeding victories over the Gauls, having become very formidable to diſtant nations in war, became ſoon after much more dangerous to his fellow citizens in peace.

The ſtrength which he had given the popular party, every day grew more conſpicuous: and the Italians being fruſtrated in their aims of gaining the freedom of Rome, by the intrigues of the ſenate, they reſolved upon obtaining by force, what was refuſed them as a favour. This gave riſe to the Social war, in which moſt of the ſtates of Italy entered into a confederacy againſt Rome, in order to obtain a redreſs of this, and all the reſt of their grievances.

After a lapſe of two years, this war having continued to rage with doubtful ſucceſs, the ſenate began to reflect, that, whether conquered or conquerors, the power of the Romans was in danger of being totally deſtroyed. In order therefore to ſoften their compliance by degrees, they began by giving the freedom of the city to ſuch of the Italian ſtates as had not revolted. They then offered it to ſuch as would ſooneſt lay down their arms. This unexpected

ed bounty had the desired effect; the allies, with mutual distrust, offered each a seperate treaty: the senate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in such a manner, that, being empowered to vote not until all the other tribes had given their suffrages, they had very little weight in the constitution. In this manner they were made free, all but the Samnites and Lucanians, who seemed excluded from the general compromise, as if to leave Sylla, who commanded against them, the glory of putting an end to the war: this he performed with great conduct, storming their camps, overthrowing them in several battles, and obliging them to submit to such terms as the senate were pleased to impose.

This destructive war being concluded, which, as Paterculus says, consumed above three hundred thousand of the flower of Italy, the senate now began to think of turning their arms against Mithridates, the most powerful and warlike monarch of the East.

For this expedition Marius had long been preparing, but Sylla, who now began to make a figure in the commonwealth, had interest enough to get Marius set aside, and himself appointed to the expedition. Marius, however, tried all his arts with the people to get this appointment reversed, and at length procured a law to be enacted, that the command of the army appointed to oppose Mithridates, was to be transferred from Sylla to Marius.

In consequence of this, Marius immediately sent down officers from Rome, to take command in his name. But, instead of obeying their orders, they fell upon and slew the officers, and then entreated Sylla, that he would lead them directly to take signal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome.

Accordingly, his soldiers entered the city sword in hand, as a place taken by storm. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their patrizans,

patrizans, attempted to oppoſe their entrance; and the citizens themſelves, who feared the ſackage of the place, threw down ſtones and tyles from the tops of the houſes upon the intruders. So unequal a conflict laſted longer than could have been expected: at length, Marius and his party were obliged to ſeek ſafety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to all the ſlaves, who would aſſiſt them in this emergency.

Sylla now finding himſelf maſter of the city, began by modelling the laws ſo as to favour his outrages. While Marius, driven out of Rome, and declared a public enemy, at the age of ſeventy, was obliged to ſave himſelf, unattended and on foot, from the numerous purſuits of thoſe who ſought his life. After having wandered for ſome time in this deplorable condition, he found every day his dangers encreaſe, and his purſuers making nearer advances. In this diſtreſs he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the marſhes of Minturnum, where he ſpent the night up to his chin in a quagmire. At break of day he left this diſmal place, and made towards the ſea ſide, in hopes of finding a ſhip to facilitate his eſcape; but being known and diſcovered by ſome of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town with an halter round his neck, without cloaths, and, covered over with mud, was ſent to priſon. The governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the ſenate, ſoon after ſent a Cimbrian ſlave to diſpatch him; but the barbarian no ſooner entered the dungeon for this purpoſe, but he ſtopt ſhort, intimidated by the dreadful viſage and awful voice of the fallen general, who ſternly demanded, if he had the preſumption to kill Caius Marius? The ſlave, unably to reply, threw down his ſword, and ruſhing back from the priſon, cried out, that he found it impoſſible to kill him! The governor, conſidering the fear of the ſlave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour,

favour, gave him once more his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ſhip to convey him from Italy. He from thence made the beſt of his way to the iſland of Ænaria, and ſailing onward, was forced by a tempeſt on the coaſt of Sicily. There a Roman quæſtor, who happened to be at the ſame place, reſolved to ſeize him; by which he loſt ſixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat to the ſhip. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went, in a melancholy manner, to place himſelf amongſt the ruins of that deſolated place. He ſoon, however, had orders from the prætor, who governed there, to retire. Marius, who remembered his having once ſerved this very man, when in neceſſity, could not ſuppreſs his ſorrow, at finding ingratitude in every quarter of the world; and preparing to obey, deſired the meſſenger to tell his maſter, that he had ſeen Marius ſitting among the ruins of Carthage, intimating the greatneſs of his own fall, by the deſolation that was round him. He then embarked once more, and, not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, ſpent the winter at ſea, expecting every hour, the return of a meſſenger from his ſon, whom he had ſent to ſollicit protection from an African prince, whoſe name was Mandraſtal. After long expectations, inſtead of the meſſenger, his ſon himſelf arrived, having eſcaped from the inhoſpitable court of that monarch, where he had been kept, not as a friend, but a priſoner, and had returned juſt time enough to prevent his father from ſharing the ſame fate. It was in this ſituation, that they were informed that Cinna, one of their party who had remained at Rome, had reſtored their affairs, and headed a large army of the Italian ſtates in his cauſe.

Nor was it long before they joined their forces, and preſented themſelves at the gates of Rome. Sylla was

was at that time abſent in his command againſt Mithridates, while Cinna marched into the city, accompanied by his guards; but Marius ſtopped, and refuſed to enter, alledging, that, having been baniſhed by a public decree, it was neceſſary to have another to authorize his return. It was thus that he deſired to give his meditated cruelties the appearance of juſtice; and, while he was about to deſtroy thouſands, to pretend an implicit veneration for the laws. In purſuance of his deſire, an aſſembly of the people being called, they began to reverſe his baniſhment; but they had ſcarce gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable of containing his deſire of revenge, he entered the city at the head of his guards, and maſſacred all that had ever been obnoxious to him, without remorſe or pity. Several who ſought to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were murdered by his command in his preſence; many even of thoſe who had never offended him were put to death; and, at laſt, even his own officers never approached him but with terror. Having in this manner puniſhed his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival, and then made himſelf conſul with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite paſſions, vengeance and ambition, having once ſaved his country, and now deluged it with blood; at laſt, as if willing to crown the pile of ſlaughter which he had made, with his own body, he died the month after, aged ſeventy, not without ſuſpicion of having haſtened his end.

In the mean time, theſe accounts were brought to Sylla, who was ſent againſt Mithridates, and who was performing many ſignal ſervices againſt him; but concluding a peace with that monarch, he reſolved to return home to take revenge of his enemies at Rome.

In the mean time, nothing could intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being

ing joined by Carbo, who was now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been ſlain, together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to ſend over part of the forces he had raiſed into Dalmatia, to oppoſe Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but theſe being diſperſed by a ſtorm, the reſt, that had not yet put to ſea, abſolutely refuſed to go. Upon this, Cinna, quite furious at their diſobedience, ruſhed forward to perſuade them to their duty. In the mean time, one of the moſt mutinous of the ſoldiers being ſtruck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed ſeverity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna did all he could to prevent or appeaſe it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

Scipio, the conſul, who commanded againſt Sylla, was ſoon after allured by propoſals for coming to a treaty: but a ſuſpenſion of arms being agreed upon, Sylla's ſoldiers went into the oppoſite camp, diſplaying thoſe riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow-citizens, in caſe they changed their party. Accordingly, the whole army declared unanimouſly for Sylla; and Scipio ſcarce knew that he was forſaken and depoſed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who, entering his tent, made him and his ſon their priſoners.

In this manner, both factions, exaſperated to the higheſt degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in ſeveral engagements. The forces on the ſide of young Marius, who now ſucceeded his father in command, were the moſt numerous, but thoſe of Sylla better united and more under ſubordination. Carbo, who commanded an army for Marius in the field, ſent eight legions to Prænesſte,

Præneste, to relieve his colleague, but they were met by Pompey, afterwards surnamed the great, in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand men slain, and six thousand taken prisoners. In consequence o this defeat, Urbanus killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa, where after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey, who, to please Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Sylla, now become undisputed master of his country, entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy, had he supported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war; or had he ceased to live, when he ceased to conquer.

Eight thousand men, who had escaped the general carnage, offered themselves to the conqueror: he ordered them to be put in the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius; and at the same time convoked the senate: there he spoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way discomposed, of his own exploits, and in the mean time, gave private directions, that all those wretches, whom he had confined should be slain. The senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them, that it was only some criminals who were punished by his order, and that they needed not to make themselves uneasy about their fate. The day after he proscribed forty senators, and sixteen hundred knights; and after an intermission of two days, forty senators more, with an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome.

He next resolved to invest himself with the dictatorship, and that for a perpetuity; and thus uniting all civil as well as military power in his own person,

he was conſcious he might then give an air of juſtice to every oppreſſion.

In this manner he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to reſiſt his power, until, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, he laid down the dictatorſhip, having held it not quite three years.

After this, he retired into the country, in order to enjoy the pleaſures of tranquility and ſocial happineſs; but he did not long ſurvive his abdication; he died of that diſeaſe, which is called the morbus pedicularis, a loathſome and mortifying object, and capable of ſhewing the futility of human ambition.

CHAP. XIX.

From the perpetual Dictatorſhip of Sylla to the Triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey and Craſſus.

[U. C. 680.]

UPON the death of Sylla, the jealouſies of Pompey and Craſſus, the two moſt powerful men in the empire, began to excite freſh diſſentions. Pompey was the moſt beloved general, and Craſſus was the richeſt man in Rome.

The firſt opportunity that was afforded of diſcovering their mutual jealouſy, was upon the diſbanding their troops, with which they had conquered. Neither choſe to begin; ſo that the moſt fatal conſequences threatened from their diſſention: but, at length, Craſſus, ſtifling his reſentment, laid down his command, and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was who ſhould be the foremoſt in obtaining the favour of the people; Craſſus entertained the populace at a thouſand different tables; diſtributed corn to the families of the poor; and fed the greateſt part of the citizens

citizens for near three months. Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made againſt the people's authority by Sylla: he reſtored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus; and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their former privileges. It was thus that each gave his private aims a public appearance; ſo that what was in reality ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality, with the other that of freedom.

An expedition, in which Pompey cleared the Mediterranean, which was infeſted by pirates, having added greatly to his reputation, the tribunes of the people hoped it would be eaſy to advance their favourite ſtill higher: wherefore Manilius, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, with the government of all Aſia, together with the management of the war, which was renewed againſt Mithridates, ſhould be committed to him alone. The law paſſed with little oppoſition, and the decree was confirmed by all the tribes of the people.

Being thus appointed to the command of that important war, he immediately departed for Aſia, having made the proper preparations towards forwarding the campaign. Mithridates had been obliged by Lucullus to take refuge in leſſer Armenia, and thither that general was preparing to follow him, when his whole army abandoned him, ſo that it remained for Pompey to terminate the war, which he effected with great eaſe and expedition, adding a large extent of dominion to the Roman empire, and returning to Rome in triumph, at the head of his conquering army.

But all the victories of Pompey, rather ſerved to heighten the glory, than to increaſe the power of Rome, they only made it a more glaring object of ambition, and expoſed its liberties to greater danger.

Thoſe liberties, indeed, ſeemed devoted to ruin on every ſide; for even while he was purſuing his conqueſts abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin, from a conſpiracy at home. This conſpiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who reſolved to build his own power on the downfal of his country. He was ſingularly formed, both by art and nature, to conduct a conſpiracy; he was poſſeſſed of courage equal to the moſt deſperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition: ruined in his fortunes, profligate in his manners, and vigilant in purſuing his aims: he was inſatiable after wealth, only with a view to laviſh it on his guilty pleaſures.

Catiline having contracted many debts by the looſeneſs of ſuch an ill-ſpent life, was reſolved to extricate himſelf from them, by any means, however unlawful.

Accordingly, he aſſembled about thirty of his debauched aſſociates, and informed them of his aims, his hopes, and his ſettled plan of operations. It was reſolved among them, that a general inſurrection ſhould be raiſed throughout Italy, the different parts of which were aſſigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in ſeveral places at once; and Catiline, at the head of an army raiſed in Etruria, was in the general confuſion to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, and maſſacre all the ſenators. Lentulus, one of his profligate aſſiſtants, who had been prætor, or judge in the city, was to preſide in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who ſacrificed the poſſeſſion of great preſent power, to the hopes of gratifying his revenge againſt Cicero, was to direct the maſſacre through the city; and Cæſius was to conduct thoſe who fired it; but the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obſtacle to their deſigns, Catiline was very deſirous to ſee him taken off before he left Rome; upon which, two knights of the company undertook to kill

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him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence of business. But the meeting was no sooner over, than Cicero had information of all that passed in it; for, by the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he had gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conspirators, to send him a punctual account of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himself against the designs of his morning visitors, who were punctual to the appointment, he next took care to provide for the defence of the city, and assembling the senate, consulted what was best to be done in this time of danger. The first step taken was to offer considerable rewards for farther discoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the state. Catiline, to shew how well he could dissemble, or justify any crime, went boldly to the senate, declaring his innocence; but when confronted by the eloquence of Cicero, he hastily withdrew, declaring aloud, that since he was denied a vindication of himself, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguish the flames which was raised about him, in universal ruin. Accordingly, after a short conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night, with a small retinue, to make the best of his way towards Etruria, where Manilius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army to support him.

In the mean time, Cicero took proper precautions to secure all those of the conspiracy who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cæsius, and several others were put in confinement; and soon after, by the command of the senate, being delivered over to the executioners, were strangled in prison.

While his associates were put to death in the city, Catiline had raised an army of twelve thousand men; of which a fourth part only was completely armed; the rest being furnished with what chance afforded, darts, lances, and clubs. He refused, at first, to en-

liſt ſlaves, who flocked to him in great numbers, truſting to the proper ſtrength of the conſpiracy; but upon the approach of the conſul, who was ſent againſt him, and upon the arrival of the news, that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs were entirely altered. His firſt attempt, therefore, was, by long marches, to make his eſcape over the Appennines into Gaul; but in this his hopes were diſappointed, all the paſſes being ſtrictly guarded by an army under Metellus, ſuperior to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every ſide, and ſeeing all things deſperate, with nothing left him but either to die or conquer, he reſolved to make one vigorous effort againſt that army that purſued him. Antonius, the conſul, being himſelf ſick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Petreius; who, after a fierce and bloody action, in which he loſt a conſiderable part of his beſt troops, put Catiline's forces to the rout, and deſtroyed his whole army, which fought deſperately to the laſt man.

The extinction of this conſpiracy ſeemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men of the ſtate to diſplay itſelf in. Pompey was now returned in triumph, from conquering the Eaſt, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa.

Craſſus, as we have already obſerved, was the richeſt man in Rome; and next to him, poſſeſſed of the greateſt authority: his party in the ſenate was even ſtronger than that of Pompey, his rival, and the envy raiſed againſt him was leſs. He and Pompey had been long diſunited by an oppoſition of intereſts, and of characters: hower, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealouſies, that the ſtate was in ſome meaſure to expect its future ſafety. It was in this ſituation of things, that Julius Cæſar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, reſolved to convert their mutual

tual jealouſy to his own advantage. This celebrated man, was nephew to Marius, by the female line, and deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome: he had already mounted by the regular gradations of office; having been quæſtor, ædile, grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being deſcended from popular anceſtors, he warmly eſpouſed the ſide of the people; and ſhortly after the death of Sylla procured thoſe whom he had baniſhed to be recalled. He had all along declared for the populace againſt the ſenate, and by this became their moſt favourite magiſtrate. This conſummate ſtateſman began firſt, by offering his ſervice to Pompey, promiſing him his aid in having all his acts paſſed, notwithſtanding the ſenate's oppoſition. Pompey, pleaſed at the acquiſition of a perſon of ſo much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Craſſus, who from former connexions was diſpoſed to become ſtill more nearly his friend; at length, finding neither averſe to an union of intereſts, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and remonſtrating to them the advantage, as well as the neceſſity of a reconciliation, he had art enough to perſuade them to forget former animoſities. A combination was thus formed, by which they three agreed, that nothing ſhould be done in the commonwealth, but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the firſt Triumvirate, by which we find the conſtitution weakened by a new intereſt, that had not hitherto taken place in the government very different from that either of the ſenate or the people, and yet dependent on both.

CHAP. XX.

From the beginning of the firſt Triumvirate to the death of Pompey.

[U. C. 694.]

THE firſt thing Cæſar did, upon being taken nto the triumvirate, was to avail himſelf of the intereſt of his confederates to obtain the conſulſhp. The ſenate had ſtill ſome ſmall influence left; and though they were obliged to concur in chuſing him, yet they gave him for a colleague, one Bibulus, who they ſuppoſed would be a check upon his power; but the oppoſition was too ſtrong for even ſuperior abilities to reſiſt it; ſo that Bibulus, after a ſlight attempt in favour of the ſenate, remained inactive. Cæſar began his ſchemes for empire, by ingratiating himſelf with the people: he procured a law for dividing certain lands in Campania, among ſuch of the poor citizens, as had at leaſt three children. This propoſal was juſt enough in itſelf, and only criminal from the views of the propoſer.

Having thus ſtrengthened himſelf at home, he next deliberated with his confederates, about ſharing the foreign provinces of the empire between them. The partition was ſoon made: Pompey choſe Spain for his own part; being fatigued with conqueſt, and ſatiated with military fame, he was willing to take his pleaſures at Rome. Craſſus choſe Syria for his part of the empire; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had ſubdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this his moſt favourite purſuit. To Cæſar was left the provinces of Gaul; compoſed of many fierce and powerful nations, moſt of them unſubdued, and the reſt only profeſſing a nominal ſubjection. Wherefore, as it was rather appointing him to conquer than command,

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this government was granted him for five years; as if, by its continuance, to compenſate for its danger.

It would be impoſſible in this narrow compaſs, to enumerate all the battles Cæſar fought, and the ſtates he ſubdued, in his expedition into Gaul and Britain, which continued eight years. The Helvetians were the firſt that were brought into ſubjection, with the loſs of near two hundred thouſand men; thoſe who remained after the carnage, were ſent, by Cæſar, in ſafety to the foreſts, from whence they had iſſued. The Germans, with Arioviſtus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thouſand; their monarch himſelf narrowly eſcaping in a little boat acroſs the Rhine. The Belgæ were cut off with ſuch great ſlaughter, that marſhes and deep rivers were rendered paſſable from the heaps of ſlain. The Nervians, who were the moſt warlike of thoſe barbarous nations, made head for a ſhort time, and fell upon the Romans with ſuch fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæſar himſelf haſtily catching up a buckler, ruſhed through his army in the midſt of the enemy; by which means, he ſo turned the fate of the day, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at ſea, were next brought under ſubjection. After them, the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Britiſh ſea. From thence, ſtimulated by the deſire of conqueſt, he croſſed over into Britain, upon pretence, that the natives had furniſhed his enemies with continual ſupplies. Upon approaching the ſhores, he found them covered with men to oppoſe his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the ſtandard bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped aſhore, and, being well aſſiſted by Cæſar, the natives were put to flight. The Britons, being terrified at Cæſar's power, ſent to deſire

a peace, which was granted them, and ſome hoſtages delivered. A ſtorm, however, ſoon after, deſtroying great part of his fleet, they reſolved to take advantage of the diſaſter, and marched againſt him with a powerful army. But what could a naked undiſciplined army do againſt forces that had been exerciſed under the greateſt generals, and hardened by the conqueſts of the greateſt part of the world. Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to ſue for peace, which Cæſar granted them, and then returned to the continent. Thus, in leſs than nine years, he conquered, together with Britain, all that country, which extends from the Mediterranean to the German ſea.

While Cæſar was thus encreaſing his reputation and riches abroad, Pompey, who remained all the time in Rome, ſteadily co-operated with his ambition, and advanced his intereſts, while he vainly ſuppoſed he was forwarding his own. By his means, Cæſar was continued five years longer in Gaul: nor was he rouſed from his lethargy, till the fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began ſecretly to give him pain, and to make him ſuppoſe they began to eclipſe his own; for, as being more recent, they were more talked of. He now, therefore, began to do all in his power, to diminiſh Cæſar's reputation, obliging the magiſtrates not to publiſh any letters they received from him, till he had diminiſhed the credit of them, by ſpreading diſadvantageous reports: one or two accidents alſo helped to widen the ſeparation; namely, the death of Julia, Pompey's wife, who had not a little contributed to improve the harmony that ſubſiſted between them; and the deſtruction of Craſſus, who had conducted the war againſt the Parthians with ſo little prudence, that he ſuffered the enemy to get the advantage of him in almoſt every ſkirmiſh; and incapable of extricating himſelf from the difficulties

ficulties in which he was involved, he fell a ſacrifice to his own raſhneſs, being killed, bravely defending himſelf to the laſt.

Cæſar, who now began to be ſenſible of the jealouſies of Pompey, took occaſion to ſolicit for the conſulſhip, together with a prolongation of his government in Gaul, deſirous of trying whether Pompey would thwart or promote his pretenſions. In this, Pompey ſeemed to be quite inactive; but, at the ſame time, privately employed two of his creatures, who alledged in the ſenate, that the laws did not permit a perſon that was abſent, to offer himſelf as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view in this was to allure Cæſar from the government, in order to ſtand for the conſulſhip in perſon. Cæſar, however, perceiving his artifice, choſe to remain in his province; convinced, that while he headed ſuch an army as was now devoted to his intereſts, he could, at any time, give laws, as well as magiſtrates to the ſtate.

The ſenate, which were now devoted to Pompey, becauſe for ſome time he had attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, ordered the two legions which were in Cæſar's army, belonging to Pompey, home, as it was pretended, to oppoſe the Parthians, but in reality, to diminiſh Cæſar's power. Cæſar eaſily ſaw their motive; but as his plans were not yet ready for execution, he ſent them home, in purſuance of the orders of the ſenate, having previouſly attached the officers to him with benefits, and the ſoldiers with a bounty. The next ſtep the ſenate took, was to recall Cæſar from his government, as his time was now very near expiring. But Curio, his friend in the ſenate, propoſed that Cæſar ſhould not leave his army, till Pompey had ſet him the example. This for a while perplexed Pompey; however, during the debate, one of the ſenate declaring that Cæſar was paſt the Alps, and marching

marching with his whole army directly towards Rome, the conſul immediately quitting the ſenate, went with his colleague forth from the city to an houſe where Pompey at that time reſided. He there preſented him with a ſword, commanding him to march againſt Cæſar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey declared he was ready to obey; but with an air of pretended moderation, added, that it was only in caſe more gentle expedients could not be employed.

Cæſar, who was inſtructed in all that paſſed, by his partiſans in Rome, though he was ſtill in Gaul, was willing to give his aims all the appearance of juſtice. He agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey ſhould do the ſame. But the ſenate rejected all his propoſitions, blindly confident of their own power, and relying on the aſſurances of Pompey. Cæſar, ſtill unwilling to come to an open rupture with the ſtate, at laſt was content to aſk the government of Illyria, with two legions; but this alſo was refuſed him. Now, therefore, finding all hopes of an accommodation fruitleſs, and conſcious, if not of the goodneſs of his cauſe, at leaſt of the goodneſs of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy, and paſſing the Alps with his third legion, ſtopped at Ravenna, a city of Ciſalpine Gauls, from whence he once more wrote a letter to the conſuls, declaring that he was ready to reſign all command in caſe Pompey did ſo too. On the other hand, the ſenate decreed, that Cæſar ſhould lay down his government, and diſband his forces within a limited time; and if he refuſed obedience, that he ſhould be declared an enemy to the commonwealth.

Cæſar, however, ſeemed no way diſturbed at theſe violent proceedings; the night before his intended expedition into Italy, he ſat down to table, chearfully converſing with his friends on ſubjects of literature

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and philoſophy, and apparently diſengaged from every ambitious concern. After ſome time, riſing up, he deſired the company to make themſelves chearful in his abſence, and that he would be with them in a moment: in the mean time, having ordered his chariot to be prepared, he immediately ſet out, attended by a few friends, for Arminium, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had diſpatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, ſometimes walking, and ſometimes on horſeback, till at the break of day he came up with his army, which conſiſted of about five thouſand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which ſeparates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had ever been taught to conſider this river as the ſacred boundary of their domeſtic empire; Cæſar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the ſide of the river, ſtopt ſhort upon the bank, as if impreſt with terror at the greatneſs of his enterprize. He pondered for ſome time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating with himſelf whether he ſhould venture in: "If I paſs this river," ſays he to one of his generals who ſtood by him, "what miſeries ſhall I bring upon my country! and "if now I ſtop ſhort, I am undone." Thus ſaying, and reſuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in, crying out, that the die was caſt, and all was now over. His ſoldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and quickly arriving at Arminium, made themſelves maſters of the place without any reſiſtance.

This unexpected enterprize excited the utmoſt terrors in Rome, every one imagining that Cæſar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be ſeen the citizens flying into the country for ſafety, and the inhabitants of the country coming up to ſeek for ſhelter in Rome. In this

this univerſal confuſion, Pompey felt all that repentance and ſelf-condemnation which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his preſent pitch of power; wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to tax him with his ſupineneſs, and ſarcaſtically to reproach his ill-grounded preſumption. "Where is now," cried Favonius, a ridiculous ſenator of his party, "the army that is to riſe at your command? Let us "ſee if it will appear by ſtamping." Cato reminded him of the many warnings he had given him; which however, as he was continually boding nothing but calamities, Pompey might very juſtly be excuſed from attending to. But being at length wearied with theſe reproaches, which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers: he told them that they ſhould not want an army, for that he would be their leader; he confeſt, indeed, that he had all along miſtaken Cæſar's aims, judging of them only from what they ought to be; however, if his friends were ſtill inſpired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their neceſſities ſhould happen to conduct them. He let them know that their affairs were in a very promiſing ſituation; that his two lieutenants were at the head of a very conſiderable army in Spain, compoſed of veteran troops that had made the conqueſt of the Eaſt; beſides theſe, there were infinite reſources both in Aſia and Africa, together with the ſuccours they were ſure to expect from all the kingdoms that were in alliance with Rome. This ſpeech ſerved, in ſome meaſure, to revive the hopes of the confederacy. The greateſt part of the ſenate, his own private friends and dependents, together with all thoſe who expected to make their fortunes in his cauſe, agreed to follow him. Being in no capacity to reſiſt Cæſar at Rome, he reſolved to lead his forces to Capua, where

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he commanded the two legions that ſerved under Cæſar in Gaul.

Cæſar, in the mean time, after having vainly attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, reſolved to purſue him into Capua before he could collect his forces. Accordingly, he marched on to take poſſeſſion of the cities that lay between him and his rival, not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall of courſe to the conqueror.

Corfinium was the firſt city that attempted to ſtop the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the ſenate to ſucceed him in Gaul, and was garriſoned by twenty cohorts which were levied in the countries adjacent; Cæſar, however, quickly inveſted it; and, though Domitius ſent frequently to Pompey, exhorting him to come and raiſe the ſiege, he was at laſt obliged to endeavour to eſcape privately. His intentions happening to be divulged, the garriſon were reſolved to conſult their own ſafety by delivering him up to the beſiegers. Cæſar readily accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering into the town. After ſome time, Lentulus, the conſul, who was one of the beſieged, came out to implore forgiveneſs for himſelf and the reſt of his confederates, putting Cæſar in mind of their ancient friendſhip, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. To this, Cæſar, who would not wait the concluſion of his ſpeech, generouſly replied, that he came into Italy not to injure the liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to reſtore them. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the ſenators, and the knights, with their children and ſome officers of the garriſon, came out to claim the conqueror's protection, who, juſt glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permiſſion to go whereſoever they ſhould think proper. But while he diſmiſſed the leaders, he, upon this, as upon

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all other occaſions, took care to attach the common ſoldiers to his own intereſt, ſenſible that he might ſtand in need of an army; but that, while he lived, his army could never ſtand in need of a commander.

Pompey, who was unable to continue in Rome, having intelligence of what paſſed upon this occaſion, immediately retreated to Brunduſium, where he reſolved to ſtand a ſiege to retard the enemy until the forces of the empire ſhould be united to oppoſe him. His aim in this ſucceeded to his wiſh, and after having employed Cæſar for ſome time in a fruitleſs ſiege, he privately paſſed his forces over to Dyrrachium, where the conſul had levied a body of forces for his aſſiſtance. However, though he made good his eſcape, he was compelled to leave the whole kingdom of Italy at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army that had ſtrength to oppoſe his progreſs.

Cæſar finding he could not follow Pompey for want of ſhipping, went back to Rome, to take poſſeſſion of the public treaſures, which his opponent, by a moſt unaccountable over-ſight, had neglected taking with him. However, upon his coming up to the door of the treaſury, Metellus, the tribune, who guarded it, refuſed to let him paſs; but Cæſar, with more than uſual emotion, laying his hand upon his ſword, threatened to ſtrike him dead; "And know, "young man," cried he, "that it is eaſier to do "this than to ſay it." This menace had its effect; Metellus retired, and Cæſar took out of the treaſury to the amount of three thouſand pounds weight of gold, beſides an immenſe quantity of ſilver.

Having thus provided for continuing the war, he departed from Rome, reſolved to ſubdue Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long in Spain at the head of a veteran army, compoſed of the choiceſt legions of the empire, who had been

been ever victorious under all its commanders. Cæsar, however, who knew the abilities of its two present generals, jocosely said as he was preparing to go thither, that he went to fight an army without a general, and upon conquering it, would return to fight a general without an army.

The first conflict which he had with Afranius and Petreius, was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda, and both sides claimed the honour of the victory. But by various stratagems he reduced them at last to such extremity of hunger and drought, that they were obliged to yield at discretion. Clemency was his favourite virtue; he dismissed them all with the kindest professions, and sent them home to Rome loaden with shame and obligations to publish his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus, in the space of about forty days, he became master of all Spain, and returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens upon this occasion received him with fresh demonstrations of joy, and created him dictator and consul; but the first of these offices he laid down after he had held it eleven days.

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey was equally active in making preparations in Epirus and Greece to oppose him. All the monarchs of the East had declared in his favour, and sent very large supplies. He was master of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five hundred large ships under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. Added to these, he was supplied with large sums of money; and all the necessaries for an army, from the tributary provinces round him. He had attacked Antony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæsar in that part of the empire, with such success, that the former was obliged to fly, and the latter was taken prisoner. Crowds of the most distinguished citizens and nobles from Rome came

came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred ſenators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whoſe approbation of his cauſe was equivalent to an army.

Notwithſtanding theſe preparations, Cæſar ſhipped off five of his twelve legions, at Brunduſium, and weighing anchor, fortunately ſteered through the midſt of his enemies, timing it ſo well that he made his paſſage in one day. Still, however, convinced that the proper time for making propoſals for a peace was after gaining an advantage, he ſent one Rufus, whom he had taken priſoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey, offering to refer all to the ſenate and the people of Rome; but Pompey once more rejected the overture, holding the people of Rome too much in Cæſar's intereſts to be relied on.

Pompey had been raiſing ſupplies in Macedonia when firſt informed of Cæſar's landing upon the coaſts of Epirus: he now therefore, reſolved immediately to march to Dyrrachium, in order to cover that place from Cæſar's attempts, as all his ammunition and proviſions were depoſited there. The firſt place that both armies came in ſight of each other, was on the oppoſite banks of the river Apſus; and as both were commanded by the two greateſt generals then in the world, the one renowned for his conqueſt of the Eaſt, the other celebrated for his victories over the Weſtern parts of the empire, a battle was eagerly deſired by the ſoldiers on either ſide. But neither general was willing to hazard it upon this occaſion; Pompey could not rely upon his new levies, and Cæſar would not venture an engagement till he was joined by the reſt of his forces.

Cæſar had now waited ſome time with extreme impatience for the coming up of the remainder of his army; and even ventured out alone in an open fiſher boat to haſten its arrival, but he was driven back by a ſtorm. However, his diſappointment was

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ſoon relieved, by an information of the landing of troops he had long expected at Appollonia, from whence they were approaching, under the conduct of Antony and Calenus, to join him; he, therefore decamped in order to meet them; and prevent Pompey with his army from engaging them on their march, as he lay on that ſide of the river, where the ſuccours had been obliged to come on ſhore.

Pompey being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Aſparagus, nigh Dyrracchium, where he was ſure of being ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for his army, by the numerous fleets which he employed along the coaſts of Epirus: there he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners expreſs it) that jutted into the ſea, where alſo was a ſmall ſhelter for ſhips, where few winds could annoy them; in this place being moſt advantageouſly ſituated, he immediately began to entrench his camp; which Cæſar perceiving, and finding that he was not likely ſoon to quit ſo advantageous a poſt, began to entrench alſo behind him. And as all beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land ſide, was hilly and ſteep, he built redoubts upon the hills, ſtretching round from ſhore to ſhore; and then cauſed lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill, by which he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped by this blockade, to force his opponent to a battle; which he ardently deſired, and which the other with equal induſtry declined. Thus both ſides continued for ſome time employed in deſigns and ſtratagems, the one to annoy and the other to defend. Cæſar's men daily carried on their works to ſtraiten the enemy; thoſe of Pompey did the ſame to enlarge themſelves, having the advantage of numbers, and ſeverely galled the enemy by their ſlingers and archers. Cæſar, however, was indefatigable; he cauſed blinds or mantelets to be made of ſkins of beaſts, to cover his men while at work; he cut off all the wa-

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ter that ſupplied the enemy's camp, and forage from the horſes, ſo that there remained no more ſubſiſtence for them. But Pompey at laſt reſolved to break thro' his lines, and gain ſome other part of the country, more convenient for encampment. Accordingly, having informed himſelf of the condition of Cæſar's fortifications from ſome deſerters who came over to him, he ordered his light infantry and archers on board his ſhips, with directions to attack Cæſar's entrenchments by ſea, where they were leaſt defended. This was done with ſuch effect, that tho' Cæſar and his officers uſed their utmoſt endeavours to hinder Pompey's deſigns, yet, by means of reiterated attempts, he at laſt effected his purpoſe of extricating his army from his former camp, and of encamping in another place by the ſea, where he had the conveniency of forage and ſhipping alſo. Cæſar being thus fruſtrated in his views of blocking up the enemy, and perceiving the loſs he had ſuſtained, reſolved at laſt to force Pompey to a battle, tho' upon diſadvantageous terms. The engagement began by attempting to cut off a legion which was poſted in a wood, and this brought on a general battle. The conflict was for ſome time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæſar's army being intangled in the entrenchments of the old camps lately abandoned, began to fall into diſorder; upon which, Pompey preſſing his advantage, they at laſt fled with great precipitation. Great numbers periſhed in the trenches and on the banks of the river, or were preſſed to death by their fellows. Pompey purſued his ſucceſſes to the very camp of Cæſar: but either ſurpriſed with the ſuddenneſs of his victory, or fearful of an ambuſcade, he withdrew his troops into his own camp, and thus loſt an opportunity of ſecuring his victory.

After this defeat, which was by no means deciſive, Cæſar marched, with all his forces united into one body,

body, directly to Gomphi, a town in the province of Theſſaly. But the news of his defeat at Dyrrachium had reached this place before him; the inhabitants, therefore, who had before promiſed him obedience, now changed their minds; and, with a degree of baſeneſs, equal to their imprudence, ſhut their gates againſt him. Cæſar was not to be injured with impunity; wherefore, having repreſented to his ſoldiers the great advantage of forcing a place ſo very rich, he ordered the machines for ſcaling to be got ready; and cauſing an aſſault to be made, proceeded with ſuch vigour, that, notwithſtanding the great height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours time. Cæſar left it to be plundered, and without delaying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another town of the ſame province, which yielded at his approach. By this means, he ſoon became poſſeſſed of all Theſſaly, except Lariſſa, which was garriſoned by Scipio, which his legion, who commanded for Pompey. During this interval, Pompey's officers continually ſoliciting their commander to come to a battle, and inceſſantly teazing him with importunities to engage; he at length, reſolved to renounce his own judgment, in compliance with thoſe about him; and to give up all ſchemes of prudence for thoſe dictated by avarice and paſſion. Wherefore advancing into Theſſaly, within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he drew down upon the plains of Pharſalia, where he was joined by Scipio, his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. There he waited the coming up of Cæſar, reſolved upon engaging, and upon deciding the fate of the kingdoms at a ſingle battle.

Cæſar had employed all his art for ſome time in ſounding the inclinations of his men, and finding his army once more reſolute and vigorous, he cauſed them to advance towards the plains of Pharſalia, where

where Pompey was now encamped, and prepared to oppoſe him.

The approach of theſe two great armies, compoſed of the beſt and braveſt troops in the world, together with the greatneſs of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, tho' with different expectations. Pompey's army, being moſt numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory; Cæſar's, with better aims, conſidered only the means of obtaining it: Pompey's army depended upon their numbers, and their many generals; Cæſar's, upon their own diſcipline, and the conduct of their ſingle commander: Pompey's partiſans hoped much from the juſtice of their cauſe; Cæſar's alledged the frequent propoſals which they had made for peace without effect. Thus the views, hopes, and motives of both ſeemed different, but their hatred and ambition were the ſame. Cæſar, who was ever foremoſt in offering battle, led out his army in array to meet the enemy; but Pompey, either ſuſpecting his troops, or dreading the event, kept his advantageous ſituation for ſome time: he drew, indeed, ſometimes out of his camp, but always kept himſelf under his trenches, at the foot of the hill near which he was poſted. Cæſar being unwilling to attack him at a diſadvantage, reſolved to decamp the next day, hoping to haraſs out his antagoniſt, who was not a match for him in ſuſtaining the fatigues of duty. Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents ſtruck, when word was brought him, that Pompey's army had quitted their entrenchments, and had advanced farther into the plain than uſual; ſo that he might engage them at leſs diſadvantage: whereupon he cauſed his troops, that were upon their march, to halt, and with a countenance of joy informed them, that the happy time was at laſt come, which they had ſo

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long wiſhed for, and which was to crown their glory and terminate their fatigues. Upon this he drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle. His forces did not amount to above half thoſe of Pompey; the army of the one amounting to above forty-five thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe; that of the other not exceeding twenty-two thouſand foot, and about a thouſand horſe. This diſproportion, particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæſar with apprehenſions; wherefore he had ſome days before picked out the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt of his foot ſoldiers, and accuſtomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their aſſiſtance, his thouſand horſe was a match for Pompey's ſeven thouſand, and had actually got the better in a ſkirmiſh that happened between them ſome days before.

Pompey, on the other hand, had ſtrong expectations of ſucceſs; he boaſted, that he could put Cæſar's legions to flight, without ſtriking a ſingle blow; preſuming that, as ſoon as the armies formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greateſt expectations, would out-flank and ſurround the enemy. Labienus commended this ſcheme of Pompey; alledging alſo, that the preſent troops, of which Cæſar's army was compoſed, were but the ſhadow of thoſe old legions that had fought in Britain and Gaul; that all the veterans were worn out, and had been replaced by new levies, made in a hurry, in Ciſalpine Gaul. To encreaſe the confidence of the army ſtill more, he took an oath, which the reſt followed him in, never to return to the camp but with victory. In this diſpoſition, and under theſe advantageous circumſtances, Pompey led his troops to battle.

Pompey's order of battle was good and well judged. In the centre, and on the two flanks, he placed all his veterans, and diſtributed his new-raiſed troops between the wings and the main body. The Syrian legions

legions were placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio; the Spaniards, on whom he greatly relied, were put on the right, under Domitius Ænobarbus; and on the left were ſtationed the two legions, which Cæſar had reſtored in the beginning of the war, led on by Pompey himſelf; becauſe from thence he intended to make the attack which was to gain the day; and for the ſame reaſon he had there aſſembled all his horſe, ſlingers and archers, of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Enipeus. Cæſar likewiſe divided his army into three bodies under three commanders: Domitius Calvinus being placed in the centre, and Mark Antony on the left, while he himſelf led on the right wing, which was to oppoſe the left, commanded by Pompey. It was remarkable enough, that Pompey choſe to put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which were diſciplined and inſtructed by Cæſar; an inconteſtible proof how much he valued them above any of the reſt of his army. Cæſar, on the contrary, placed himſelf at the head of his tenth legion, that had owed all its merit and fame to his own training. As he obſerved the enemy's numerous cavalry to be all drawn to one ſpot, he gueſſed at Pompey's intention; to obviate which he made a draught of ſix cohorts from his rear line, and forming them into a ſeparate body, concealed them behind his right wing, with inſtructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horſe, as was cuſtomary, but to keep them in their hands and puſh them directly in the faces and the eyes of the horſemen, who, being compoſed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, valued themſelves much upon their beauty, and dreaded a ſcar in the face more than a wound in the body. He laſtly, placed the little cavalry he had, ſo as to cover the right of the tenth legion, ordering his third line not to march till they had received the ſignal from him.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their men, warming their hopes, and leſſening their apprehenſions. Pompey repreſented to his men, that the glorious occaſion which they had long beſought him to grant was now before him; "And indeed," cried he, "what advan-
"tages could you wiſh over an enemy, that you are
"not now poſſeſſed of? Your numbers, your vigour,
"a late victory, all aſſure a ſpeedy and an eaſy con-
"queſt of thoſe harraſſed and broken troops, com-
"poſed of men worn out with age, and impreſſed
"with the terrors of a late defeat; but there is
"ſtill a ſtronger bulwark for our protection than the
"ſuperiority of our ſtrength, the juſtice of our cauſe.
"You are engaged in the defence of liberty and of
"your country; you are ſupported by its laws, and
"followed by its magiſtrates; you have the world
"ſpectators of your conduct, and wiſhing you ſuc-
"ceſs: on the contrary, he whom you oppoſe is a
"robber, and oppreſſor of his country, and almoſt al-
"ready ſunk with the conſciouſneſs of his crimes, as
"well as the bad ſucceſs of his arms. Shew, then, on
"this occaſion, all that ardour and deteſtation of ty-
"ranny that ſhould animate Romans, and do juſtice
"to mankind." Cæſar, on his ſide, went among his men with that ſteady ſerenity, for which he was ſo much admired in the midſt of danger. He inſiſted on nothing ſo ſtrongly to his ſoldiers, as his frequent and unſucceſsful endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the blood he was going to ſhed, and pleaded only the neceſſity that urged him to it. He deplored the many brave men that were to fall on both ſides, and the wounds of his country, whoever ſhould be victorious. His ſoldiers anſwered his ſpeech with looks of ardour and impatience; which obſerving, he gave the ſignal to begin. The word on Pompey's ſide was, Hercules the invincible: that on Cæſar's, Venus the victorious. There was only ſo much ſpace

between both armies as to give room for fighting: wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the firſt ſhock without moving out of their places, expecting the enemies ranks to be put into diſorder by their motion. Cæſar's ſoldiers were now ruſhing on with their uſual impetuoſity, when, perceiving the enemy motionleſs, they all ſtopt ſhort, as if by general conſent, and halted in the midſt of their career. A terrible pauſe enſued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other with mutual terror and dreadful ſerenity: at length, Cæſar's men having taken breath, ran furiouſly upon the enemy, firſt diſcharging their javelins, and then drawing their ſwords. The ſame method was obſerved by Pompey's troops, who as vigorouſly ſuſtained the attack. His cavalry alſo were ordered to charge at the very onſet, which, with the multitude of archers and ſlingers, ſoon obliged Cæſar's men to give ground; whereupon Cæſar immediately ordered the ſix cohorts, that were placed as a reinforcement, to advance, with orders, to ſtrike at the enemies faces. This had its deſired effect; the cavalry, that were but juſt now ſure of victory, received an immediate check: the unuſual method of fighting purſued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the viſages of the aſſailants, and the horrible diſfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate them ſo much, that, inſtead of defending their perſons, their only endeavour was to ſave their faces. A total rout enſued of their whole body, which fled in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and ſlingers, who were thus abandoned, were cut to pieces. Cæſar now commanded the cohorts to purſue their ſucceſs, and advancing, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank: this charge the enemy withſtood for ſome time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked in front by freſh troops, and in rear

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by the victorious cohorts, could no longer reſiſt, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the ſtrangers, tho' Pompey's right wing ſtill valiantly maintained their ground. Cæſar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his uſual clemency, cried out to purſue the ſtrangers, but to ſpare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms, and received quarter. The greateſt ſlaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all quarters, but principally went for ſafety to the camp. The battle had now laſted from the break of day till noon, the weather being extremely hot; nevertheleſs, the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general, who thought his victory not complete till he was maſter of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at their head, he called upon them to follow and ſtrike the deciſive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for ſome time made a formidable reſiſtance: particularly a great number of Thracians and other barbarians, who were appointed for its defence: but nothing could reſiſt the ardour of Cæſar's victorious army; they were at laſt driven from their trenches, and all fled to the mountains not far off. Cæſar ſeeing the field and camp ſtrewed with his fallen countrymen, was ſtrongly affected at ſo melancholy a proſpect, and could not help crying out to one that ſtood near him, "They would have it ſo." Upon entering the enemies camp, every object preſented freſh inſtances of the blind preſumption and madneſs of his adverſaries: on all ſides were to be ſeen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and ſide-boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the higheſt luxury, and ſeemed rather the preparatives for a banquet, the rejoicings for a victory, than the diſpoſitions for a battle. A camp ſo richly furniſhed, might have been able to

engage the attention of any troops but Cæſar's; there was ſtill ſomething to be done, and he would not permit them to purſue any other object than their enemies, till they were entirely ſubdued. A conſiderable body of theſe having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his ſoldiers to join him in the purſuit, in order to oblige thoſe to ſurrender. He began by encloſing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a poſt which was not tenable for want of water, and endeavoured to reach the city of Lariſſa. Cæſar led a part of his army by a ſhorter way, and intercepted their retreat, drawn up in order of battle between them and the city. However, theſe unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which a rivulet ran, which ſupplied them with water. Now night approaching, Cæſar's men were almoſt ſpent, and ready to faint with their inceſſant toil ſince morning, yet ſtill he prevailed upon them once more to renew their labours, and to cut off the rivulet that ſupplied the defendants. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of ſuccour or ſubſiſtence, ſent deputies to the conqueror, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion. During this interval of negociation, a few ſenators that were among them, took the advantage of the night to eſcape, and the next morning gave up their arms, and experienced the conqueror's clemency. In fact, he addreſſed them with great gentleneſs, and forbade his ſoldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them. Thus, Cæſar, by his conduct, gained the moſt complete victory that had ever been obtained; and by his great clemency after the battle, ſeemed to have deſerved it. His loſs amounted to but two hundred men; and that of Pompey to fifteen thouſand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twenty-four thouſand men ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, and the greateſt part of theſe entered

tered into Cæsar's army, and were incorporated with the rest of his forces. As to the senators and Roman knights who fell into his hands, he generously gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper: and as for the letters which Pompey had received from several persons who wished to be thought neutral, he burnt them all without reading them, as Pompey had done upon a former occasion. Thus having performed all the duties of a general and a statesman, he sent for the legions which had passed the night in the camp, to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit, and arrived the same day at Larissa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly shewn such instances of courage and conduct, when he saw his cavalry routed, on which he had placed his sole dependence, he absolutely lost his reason. Instead of thinking how to remedy this disorder, by rallying such troops as fled, or by opposing fresh troops to stop the progress of the conquerors, being totally amazed by this first blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the issue of an event, which it was his duty to direct, not to follow: there he remained for some moments without speaking, till being told, that the camp was attacked, "What," says he, "are we "pursued to our very entrenchments?" and immediately quitting his armour for a habit more suitable to his circumstances, he fled away on horseback to Larissa; from whence, perceiving he was not pursued, he slackened his pace, giving way to all the agonizing reflections, which his deplorable situation must naturally suggest. In this melancholy manner he passed all along the vale of Tempe, and pursuing the course of the river Peneus, at last arrived at a fisherman's hut, in which he passed the night. From thence he went aboard a little bark, and keeping along the sea-shore, he descryed a ship of some burthen, which seemed preparing to sail, in

which he embarked, the maſter of the veſſel ſtill paying him the homage which was due to his former ſtation. From the mouth of the river Peneus he ſailed to Amphipolis, where finding his affairs deſperate, he ſteered to Leſbos to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there, at a diſtance from the dangers and hurry of the war. She, who had long flattered herſelf with the hopes of victory, felt the reverſe of her fortune in an agony of diſtreſs: ſhe was deſired by the meſſenger, whoſe tears, more than words, proclaimed the greatneſs of her misfortunes, to haſten, if ſhe expected to ſee Pompey, with but one ſhip, and even that not his own: her grief, which before was violent, became then inſupportable; ſhe fainted away, and lay a conſiderable time without any ſigns of life. At length, recovering herſelf, and reflecting it was now no time for vain lamentations, ſhe ran quite thro' the city to the ſea-ſide. Pompey embraced her, without ſpeaking a word, and for ſome time, ſupported her in his arms in ſilent deſpair.

Having taken in Cornelia, he now continued his courſe, ſteering to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſtopping no longer than was neceſſary to take in proviſions at the ports that occurred in his paſſage. He was at laſt prevailed upon to apply to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to whoſe father Pompey had been a conſiderable benefactor. Ptolemy, who was yet a minor, had not the government in his own hands, but he and his kingdom were under the direction of Photinus, an eunuch, and Theodotus, a maſter of the art of ſpeaking. Theſe adviſed, that Pompey ſhould be invited on ſhore, and there ſlain; and, accordingly, Achillas, the commander of the forces, and Septimius, by birth a Roman, and who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to carry their opinions into execution. Being attended by three or four more, they went into a little bark,

bark, and rowed off from land towards Pompey's ſhip, that lay about a mile from the ſhore. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept at his departure, and having repeated two verſes of Sophocles, ſignifying, that he who truſts his freedom to a tyrant, from that moment becomes a ſlave, gave his hand to Achillas, and ſtept into the bark, with only two attendants of his own. They had now rowed from the ſhip a good way, and as during that time they all kept a profound ſilence, Pompey, willing to begin the diſcourſe, accoſted Septimius, whoſe face he recollected. "Methinks, friend," cried he, "you and I were once fellow-ſoldiers together." Septimius gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or inſtancing the leaſt civility. Pompey therefore, took out a paper, on which he had minuted a ſpeech he intended to make to the king, and began reading it, in this manner they approached the ſhore; and Cornelia, whoſe concern had never ſuffered her to loſe ſight of her huſband, began to conceive hope, when ſhe perceived the people on the ſtrand crowding down along the coaſts, as if willing to receive him: but her hopes were ſoon deſtroyed; for that inſtant, as Pompey roſe, ſupporting himſelf upon his freedman's arm, Septimius ſtabbed him in the back, and was inſtantly ſeconded by Achillas. Pompey perceiving his death inevitable, only diſpoſed himſelf to meet it with decency, and covering his face with his robe, without ſpeaking a word, with a ſigh reſigned himſelf to his fate. At this horrid ſight Cornelia ſhrieked ſo loud as to be heard to the ſhore; but the danger ſhe herſelf was in did not allow the mariners time to look on; they immediately ſet ſail, and the wind proving favourable, fortunately they eſcaped the purſuit of the Egyptian gallies. In the mean time, Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, cauſed it to be embalmed, the better to preſerve its features, deſign-

ing it for a preſent to Cæſar. The body was thrown naked on the ſtrand, and expoſed to the view of all thoſe whoſe curioſity led them that way. However, his faithful freedman, Philip, ſtill kept near it, and when the crowd was diſperſed, he waſhed it in the ſea, and looking round for materials to burn it, he perceived the wrecks of a fiſhing-boat, of which he compoſed a pile. While he was thus piouſly employed, he was accoſted by an old Roman ſoldier, who had ſerved under Pompey in his youth. "Who "art thou," ſaid he, "that art making theſe hum-"ble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having anſwered, that he was one of his freedmen. "Alas," replied the ſoldier, "permit me to ſhare "in this honour alſo: among the many miſeries of my "exile, it will be my laſt ſad comfort, that I have "been able to aſſiſt at the funeral of my old com-"mander, and touch the body of the braveſt gene-"ral that ever Rome produced." After this, they both joined in giving the corpſe the laſt rites, and collecting his aſhes, buried them under a little riſing earth, ſcraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inſcription: "He whoſe merits deſerve a temple can now ſcarce find a tomb."

CHAP. XXI.

From the deſtruction of the Commonwealth to the eſtabliſhment of the firſt emperor Auguſtus.

[U. C. 706.]

CÆSAR has been much celebrated for his fortune, and yet his abilities ſeemed equal to his higheſt ſucceſs. He poſſeſſed many ſhining qualities without the intermixture of any defect but that of ambition. His talents were ſuch as would have rendered him victorious at the head of any army he commanded,

ed, and he would have governed in any republic that had given him birth. He had now gained a moſt complete victory, his ſucceſs only ſeemed to increaſe his activity, and inſpired him with freſh reſolution to face new dangers. He reſolved, therefore, to purſue his laſt advantage, and follow Pompey to whatever country he ſhould retire; convinced that during his life he might gain new triumphs, but could never enjoy ſecurity.

Accordingly, loſing no time, he ſet ſail for Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria with about four thouſand men; a very inconſiderable force to keep ſuch a powerful kingdom under ſubjection. Upon his landing, the firſt accounts he received were of Pompey's miſerable end; and ſoon after one of the murderers came with his head and ring, as a moſt grateful preſent to the conqueror. But Cæſar had too much humanity to be pleaſed with ſuch an horrid ſpectacle: he turned away from it with diſguſt; and after a ſhort pauſe, he gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He ſhortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory, on the ſpot where he was murdered; and a temple near the place to Nemeſis, who was the goddeſs that puniſhed thoſe that were cruel to men in adverſity.

It ſhould ſeem that the Egyptians by this time had ſome hopes of breaking off all alliance with the Romans, which they conſidered, as in fact it was, but a ſpecious ſubjection. They firſt began to take offence at Cæſar's carrying the enſigns of Roman power before him as he entered the city. Photinus the eunuch, alſo treated him with great diſreſpect, and even attempted his life. Cæſar, however, concealed his reſentment till he had a force ſufficient to puniſh his treachery; and ſending privately for the legions which had been formerly enrolled for Pompey's ſervice, as being the neareſt to Egypt, he, in the mean time pretended to repoſe an entire confi-

dence in the king's miniſter, making great entertainments, and aſſiſting at the conferences of the philoſophers, who were in great numbers at Alexandria. However, he ſoon changed his manner when he found himſelf in no danger from the miniſter's attempts, and declared, that, as being Roman conſul, it was his duty to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the Egyptian crown.

There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king; and the celebrated Cleopatra, his ſiſter; to whom, by the cuſtom of the country, he alſo was married; and who, by his father's will, ſhared jointly in the ſucceſſion. Not being contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but being oppoſed in her views by the Roman ſenate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, ſhe was baniſhed into Syria, with Arſinoe her younger ſiſter. Cæſar gave her new hopes of aſpiring to the kingdom, and ſent to both her and her brother to plead their cauſe before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, diſdained accepting this propoſal, and backed his refuſal by ſending an army of twenty thouſand men to beſiege him in Alexandria. Cæſar bravely repulſed the enemy for ſome time; but finding the city of too great extent to be defended by ſo ſmall an army as he then commanded, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour, where he purpoſed to make his ſtand. Achillas, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and ſtill aimed at making himſelf maſter of the fleet, that lay before the palace. Cæſar, however, too well knew the importance of thoſe ſhips in the hands of an enemy; and therefore burnt them all, in ſpite of every effort to prevent him. He next poſſeſt himſelf of the iſland of Pharos, which was the key to the Alexandrian port; by which he was enabled to receive the ſupplies ſent him from all ſides;

and,

and, in this ſituation, he determined to withſtand the united force of all the Ægyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra, having heard of the preſent turn in her favour, reſolved to depend rather on Cæſar's favour for gaining the government, than her own forces. But no arts, as ſhe juſtly conceived, were ſo likely to influence Cæſar as the charms of her perſon, which, though not faultleſs, were yet extremely ſeducing. She was now in the bloom of youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the moſt enchanting addreſs ſhe joined the moſt harmonious voice. With all theſe accompliſhments, ſhe poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambaſſadors of ſeven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to get at Cæſar, as her enemies were in poſſeſſion of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpoſe ſhe went on board a ſmall veſſel, and, in the evening, landed near the palace, where being wrapt up in a coverlet, ſhe was carried by one Aſpolodorus into the very chamber of Cæſar. Her addreſs, at firſt, pleaſed him; her wit and underſtanding ſtill fanned the flame; but her careſſes, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, intirely brought him over to ſecond her claims.

While Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her ſiſter Arſinoe, was alſo ſtrenuouſly engaged in the camp, in purſuing a ſeparate intereſt. She had found means, by the aſſiſtance of one Ganymede, her confident, to make a large diviſion in the Ægyptian army in her favour; and ſoon after, by one of thoſe ſudden revolutions which are common in barbarian camps to this day, ſhe cauſed Achillas to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his ſtead, and to carry on the ſiege with greater vigour than before. Ganymede's principal

effort

effort was by letting in the ſea upon thoſe canals which ſupplied the palace with freſh water; but this inconvenience Ceſar remedied by digging a great number of wells. His next endeavour was, to prevent the junction of Cæſar's twenty-fourth legion, which he twice attempted in vain. He ſoon after made himſelf maſter of a bridge which joined the iſle of Pharos to the continent, from which poſt Cæſar was reſolved to diſlodge him. In the heat of the action, ſome mariners, partly thro' curioſity, and partly ambition, came and joined the combatants, but, being ſeized with a panic, inſtantly fled, and ſpread a general terror through the army. All Cæſar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain, the confuſion was paſt remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the ſword in attempting to eſcape. Now, therefore, ſeeing the irremediable diſorder of his troops, he retired to a ſhip, in order to get to the palace that was juſt oppoſite: however, he was no ſooner on board, than great crowds entered at the ſame time with him; upon which, apprehenſive of the ſhip's ſinking, he jumped into the ſea, and ſwam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace, all the time holding his own Commentaries in his left hand above water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their efforts to take the palace ineffectual, endeavoured at leaſt, to get their king out of Cæſar's power, as he had ſeized upon his perſon in the beginning of their diſputes. For this purpoſe they made uſe of their cuſtomary arts of diſſimulation, profeſſing the utmoſt deſire of peace, and only wanting the preſence of their lawful prince to give a ſanction to the treaty. Cæſar, who was ſenſible of their perfidy, nevertheleſs concealed his ſuſpicions, and gave them their king, as he was under no apprehenſions from the abilities of a boy.

Ptolemy,

Ptolemy, however, the inſtant he was ſet at liberty, inſtead of promoting the peace, made every effort to give vigour to his hoſtilities.

In this manner Cæſar was hemmed in for ſome time by this artful and inſidious enemy, with all manner of difficulties againſt him; but he was at laſt relieved from this mortifying ſituation by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his moſt faithful partiſans, who came with an army to his aſſiſtance. This general, collecting a numerous army in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Peluſium, repulſed the Egyptian army with loſs, and at laſt, joining with Cæſar, attacked their camp with a great ſlaughter of the Egyptians: Ptolemy himſelf, attempting to eſcape on board a veſſel that was ſailing down the river, was drowned by the ſhip's ſinking, and Cæſar thus became maſter of all Egypt without any farther oppoſition. He therefore, appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then but an infant, as joint governors, according to the intent of their father's will, and drove out Arſinoe with Ganymede into baniſhment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now for awhile ſeemed to relax from the uſual activity of his conduct, captivated with the charms of Cleopatra. Inſtead of quitting Egypt to go and quell the remains of Pompey's party, he there abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, paſſing whole nights in feaſting, and all the exceſſes of high-wrought luxury, with the young queen. He even reſolved to attend her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans who had long followed his fortune, boldly reprehended his conduct, and refuſed to be partners in ſo infamous an expedition. Thus, at length, rouzed from his lethargy, he reſolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love, and to leave Cleopatra (by whom he had a ſon who was afterwards named Cæſario) in order to oppoſe

oppoſe Pharnaces, the king of Boſphorus, who had made ſome inroads upon the dominions of Rome.

This prince, who was the ſon of the great Mithridates, being ambitious of recovering his father's dominions, ſeized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been ſent againſt him. Upon Cæſar's march to oppoſe him, Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general as at the ſtrength of his army, laboured, by all the arts of negociation, to avert the impending danger. Cæſar, exaſperated at his crimes and ingratitude, at firſt diſſembled with the ambaſſadors, and, uſing all expedition, fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, and, in a few hours, obtained a ſpeedy and complete victory. Pharnaces attempting to take refuge in his capital, was ſlain by one of his own commanders—A juſt puniſhment for his former parricide. But Cæſar conquered him with ſo much eaſe, that, in writing to a friend in Rome, he expreſt the rapidity of his victory in three words, "Veni, vidi, vici:" a man ſo accuſtomed to conqueſt, thought a ſlight battle ſcarce worth a longer letter.

Cæſar, having ſettled affairs in this part of the empire, as well as time would permit, embarked for Italy, where he arrived ſooner than his enemies could expect, but not before his affairs there abſolutely required his preſence. He had been, during his abſence, created conſul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. But Antony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions enſued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæſar ſo opportunely could appeaſe. However, by his moderation and humanity, he ſoon reſtored tranquility to the city, ſcarce making any diſtinction between thoſe of his own and the oppoſite party. Having by gentle means reſtored his authority

rity at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, aſſiſted by Juba king of Mauritania; and with his uſual diligence, landed with a ſmall party in Africa, while the reſt of his army followed him. Scipio coming to a battle ſoon after, received a complete and final overthrow, with little or no loſs on the ſide of the victor. Juba and Petreius his general killed each other in deſpair; Scipio, attempting to eſcape by ſea into Spain, fell in among the enemy and was ſlain; ſo that, of all the generals of that undone party, Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man, whom no proſperity could elate, and no misfortune depreſs, having retired into Africa after the battle of Pharſalia, had led the wretched remains of that defeat through burning deſerts and tracts infeſted with ſerpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica, whichhe had been left to defend. Still, however, in love with even the ſhew of Roman government, he had formed the principal citizens into a ſenate, and conceived a reſolution of holding out the town. But the enthuſiaſm for liberty ſubſiding among his followers, he was reſolved no longer to force men to be free who ſeemed naturally prone to ſlavery. He now, therefore, deſired ſome of his friends to ſave themſelves by ſea, and bade others to rely upon Cæſar's clemency; obſerving, that, as to himſelf, he was at laſt victorious. After this, ſupping chearfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unuſual tenderneſs to his ſon, and to all his friends. When he came into his bed-chamber, he laid himſelf down, and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul; and, having read for ſome time, happening to caſt his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much ſurprized not to find his ſword there, which had been taken away by

by his ſon's order while they were at ſupper. Upon this, calling one of his domeſtics to know what was become of his ſword, and receiving no anſwer, he reſumed his ſtudies; but ſome time after called for his ſword again. When he had done reading, and perceived nobody obeyed him in bringing his ſword, he called his domeſtics one after the other, and with a peremptory air demanded his ſword once more. His ſon came in ſoon after, and with tears beſought him in the moſt humble manner to change his reſolution; but receiving a ſtern reprimand, he deſiſted from his perſuaſions. His ſword being at length brought him, he ſeemed ſatisfied, and cried out, "now again I am maſter of myſelf." He then took up the book again, which he read twice over, and fell into a ſound ſleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to ſerve them. The freedman aſſuring him that all was quiet, he was then ordered again to leave the room; and Cato was no ſooner alone than he ſtabbed himſelf with his ſword through the breaſt, but not with that force he intended, for the wound not diſpatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the ſame time overturned a table on which he had been drawing ſome geometrical figures. At the noiſe he made in his fall, his ſervants gave a ſhriek, and his ſon and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels puſhed out through the wound. The phyſician, who attended his family, perceiving that his inteſtines were yet untouched, was for replacing them; but when Cato had recovered his ſenſes, and underſtood their intention to preſerve his life, he puſhed the phyſician from him, and with a fierce reſolution tore out his bowels and expired.

Upon the death of Cato, the war in Africa being completed, Cæſar returned in triumph to Rome; and,

and, as if he had abridged all his former triumphs only to encreaſe the ſplendor of this, the citizens were aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the proceſſion, and the number of the countries he had ſubdued. It laſted four days: the firſt was for Gaul, the ſecond for Egypt, the third for his victories in Aſia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veteran ſoldiers, all ſcarred with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general crowned with laurels, and conducted him to the Capitol. To every one of theſe he gave a ſum equivalent to about an hundred and fifty pounds of our money, double that ſum to the centurions, and four times as much to the ſuperior officers. The citizens alſo ſhared his bounty; to every one of which he diſtributed ten buſhels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a ſum of money equal to about two pounds ſterling of ours. He after this, entertained the people at above twenty thouſand tables, treated them with the combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourſe of ſpectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleaſure, thought their freedom too ſmall a return for ſuch benefits; they ſeemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unuſual epithets of adulation for their great enſlaver. He was created by a new title Magiſter Morum, or maſter of the morals of the people; he received the title of emperor, father of his country; his perſon was declared ſacred; and, in ſhort, upon him alone were devolved for life, all the great dignities of the ſtate. It muſt be owned, however, that ſo much power could never have been entruſted to better keeping. He immediately began his empire by repreſſing vice and encouraging virtue. He committed the power of judicature to the ſenators and the knights alone, and by many ſumptuary laws reſtrained the ſcandalous luxuries of the rich.

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He propoſed rewards to all ſuch as had many children, and took the moſt prudent methods of re-peopling the city that had been exhauſted in the late commotions.

Having thus reſtored proſperity once more to Rome, he again found himſelf under a neceſſity of going into Spain to oppoſe an army which had been raiſed there under the two ſons of Pompey, and alſo Labienus his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his uſual celerity, and arrived in Spain before the enemy thought him yet departed from Rome. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's ſons, profiting by their unhappy father's example, reſolved as much as poſſible to protract the war; ſo that the firſt operations of the two armies were ſpent in ſieges and fruitleſs attempts to ſurpriſe each other. At length, Cæſar, after taking many cities from the enemy, and purſuing Pompey with unwearied perſeverance, at laſt compelled him to come to a battle upon the plains of Munda. Pompey drew up his men by break of day upon the declivity of an hill with great exactneſs and order. Cæſar drew up his men likewiſe in the plain below; and after advancing a little way from his trenches, he ordered his men to make an halt, expecting the enemy to come down from the hill. This delay made Cæſar's ſoldiers begin to murmur, while Pompey's with full vigour poured down upon them, and a dreadful conflict enſued. The firſt ſhock was ſo dreadful, that Cæſar's men, who had hitherto been uſed to conquer, now began to waver. Cæſar was never in ſo much danger as now; he threw himſelf ſeveral times into the very throng of battle. "What," cried he, "are "you going to give up your general, who is grown "grey in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys?" Upon this, his tenth legion exerted themſelves with more than former bravery; and a party of horſe being detached by Labienus from the camp in purſuit

ſuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæſar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry inſtantly ſpread itſelf through both armies, exciting the one as much as it depreſſed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion preſſed forward, and a total rout ſoon enſued. Thirty thouſand men were killed on Pompey's ſide, amongſt whom was Labienus, whom Cæſar ordered to be buried with the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius Pompey eſcaped with a few horſemen to the ſea-ſide, but finding his paſſage intercepted by Cæſar's lieutenant, he was obliged to ſeek for a retreat in an obſcure cavern. He was quickly diſcovered by ſome of Cæſar's troops, who preſently cut off his head and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus, however, concealed himſelf ſo well that he eſcaped all purſuit; and afterwards became very noted and formidable from his piracies to the people of Rome.

Cæſar by this laſt blow ſubdued all his avowed enemies, and the reſt of his life was employed for the advantage of the ſtate. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings; he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, ſending colonies to both cities; he undertook to level ſeveral mountains in Italy, to drain the Pontine marſhes near Rome, and deſigned to cut through the iſthmus of Peloponneſus. Thus, with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects and deſigns beyond the limits of the longeſt life; but the greateſt of all was his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, by which he deſigned to revenge the death of Craſſus, who having penetrated too far into their country was overthrown, himſelf taken priſoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a puniſhment for his former avarice. From thence Cæſar intended to paſs through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia along the banks of the Caſpian ſea; then to open himſelf a way through the immeaſurable

able foreſts of Germany into Gaul, and ſo to return to Rome. Theſe were the aims of ambition: the jealouſy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

Having been made perpetual dictator, and received from the ſenate accumulated honours, it began to be rumoured that he intended to make himſelf king, and, though, in fact he was poſſeſſed of the power, the people, who had an utter averſion to the name, could not bear his aſſuming the title. Whether he really deſigned to aſſume that empty honour muſt now for ever remain a ſecret; but certain it is, that the unſuſpecting openneſs of his conduct marked ſomething like a confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by thoſe about him of the jealouſies of many perſons who envied his power, he was heard to ſay, that he had rather die once by treaſon, than to live continually in apprehenſion of it. When adviſed by ſome to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for ſome time repoſed the greateſt confidence, he opened his breaſt all ſcared with wounds, ſaying, "Can you think Brutus cares for ſuch poor "pillage as this?" and being one night at ſupper, as his friends diſputed among themſelves what death was eaſieſt, he replied, that which was moſt ſudden, and leaſt foreſeen. But to convince the world how little he had to apprehend from his enemies, he diſbanded his company of Spaniſh guards, which facilitated the enterprize againſt his life.

A deep conſpiracy was, therefore, laid againſt him, compoſed of no leſs than ſixty ſenators. They were ſtill the more formidable, as the generality of them were of his own party; who having been raiſed above other citizens, felt more ſtrongly the weight of a ſingle ſuperior. At the head of this conſpiracy were Brutus, whoſe life Cæſar had ſpared after the battle of Pharſalia; and Caſſius, who was pardoned ſoon after; both prætors for the preſent year. Bru-

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tus made it his chief glory to have been deſcended from that Brutus who firſt gave liberty to Rome. The paſſion for freedom ſeemed to have been tranſmitted with the blood of his anceſtors down to him. But though he deteſted tyranny, yet he could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the moſt ſignal benefits.

The conſpirators, to give a colour of juſtice to their proceedings, remitted the execution of their deſign to the ides of March, the day on which Cæſar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him, and the night preceding he heard his wife Calpurnia lamenting in her ſleep, and being awakened ſhe confeſſed to him, that ſhe dreamt of his being aſſaſſinated in her arms. Theſe omens, in ſome meaſure, began to change his intentions of going to the ſenate, as he had reſolved that day; but one of the conſpirators coming in, prevailed upon him to keep his reſolution, telling him of the reproach that would attend his ſtaying at home till his wife had lucky dreams, and of the preparations that were made for his appearance. As he went along to the ſenate, a ſlave, who haſtened to him with information of the conſpiracy, attempted to come near him, but could not for the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philoſopher, who had diſcovered the whole plot, delivered him a memorial containing the heads of the information; but Cæſar gave it, with other papers, to one of his ſecretaries without reading, as was uſual in things of this nature. Being at length entered the ſenate-houſe, where the conſpirators were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger, to whom he ſaid, ſmiling, "Well, "Spurina, the ides of March are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "but they are not yet over." As ſoon as he had taken his place, the conſpirators came

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near him under pretence of ſaluting him; and Cimber, who was one of them, approached in a ſuppliant poſture, pretending to ſue for his brother's pardon, who had been baniſhed by his order. All the conſpirators ſeconded him with great earneſtneſs; and Cimber, ſeeming to ſue with ſtill greater ſubmiſſion, took hold of the bottom of his robe, holding him ſo as to prevent his riſing. This was the ſignal agreed on. Caſca, who was behind, ſtabbed him, though ſlightly, in the ſhoulder. Cæſar inſtantly turned round, and, with the ſteel of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. However, all the conſpirators were now alarmed, and, incloſing him round, he received a ſecond ſtab from an unknown hand in the breaſt, while Caſſius wounded him in the face. He ſtill defended himſelf with great vigour, ruſhing among them, and throwing down ſuch as oppoſed him, till he ſaw Brutus among the conſpirators, who, coming up, ſtruck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment Cæſar thought no more of defending himſelf, but looking upon this conſpirator, cried out, "And you too, my ſon." Then covering his head, and ſpreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he ſunk down at the baſe of Pompey's ſtatue, after receiving three and twenty wounds from hands which he vainly ſuppoſed he had diſarmed by his benefits.

U. C. 710. Cæſar was killed in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and about fourteen years after he began the conqueſt of the world. If we examine his hiſtory, we ſhall be equally at a loſs whether moſt to admire his great abilities or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to ſay that from the beginning he planned the ſubjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well-known penetration, as a thouſand obſtacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to ſurmount. No man, therefore, of his ſagacity, would have begun a

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ſcheme in which the chances of ſucceeding were ſo many againſt him: it is moſt probable that, like all very ſucceſsful men, he only made the beſt of every occurrence; and his ambition riſing with his good fortune, from at firſt being contented with humbler aims, he at laſt began to think of governing the world, when he found ſcarce any obſtacle to oppoſe his deſigns. Such is the diſpoſition of man, whoſe cravings after power are always moſt inſatiable when he enjoys the greateſt ſhare.

As ſoon as the conſpirators had diſpatched Cæſar, they all retired to the Capitol, and guarded its acceſſes by a body of gladiators which Brutus had in pay.

The friends of the late dictator now began to find that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for ſatisfying their ambition under the veil of promoting juſtice. Of this number was Antony, whom we have already ſeen acting as a lieutenant under Cæſar, and governing Rome in his abſence. He was a man of moderate abilities and exceſſive vices, ambitious of power only becauſe it gave his pleaſures a wider range to riot in; but ſkilled in war to which he had been trained from his youth. He was conſul for this year, and reſolved with Lepidus, who was fond of commotions like himſelf, to ſeize this opportunity of gaining that power which Cæſar had died for uſurping. Lepidus therefore, took poſſeſſion of the Forum with a band of ſoldiers at his devotion; and Antony, being conſul, was permitted to command them. Their firſt ſtep was to poſſeſs themſelves of all Cæſar's papers and money, and next to convene the ſenate. Never had this auguſt aſſembly been convened upon ſo delicate an occaſion, as it was to determine, whether Cæſar had been a legal magiſtrate or a tyrannical uſurper; and whether thoſe who killed him merited rewards or puniſhments. There were many of theſe who

who had received all their promotions from Cæſar, and had acquired large fortunes in conſequence of his appointments: to vote him an uſurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property; and yet to vote him innocent, might endanger the ſtate. In this dilemma they ſeemed willing to reconcile extremes; wherefore they approved all the acts of Cæſar, and yet granted a general pardon to all the conſpirators.

This decree was very far from giving Antony ſatisfaction, as it granted ſecurity to a number of men who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremoſt in oppoſing his ſchemes of reſtoring abſolute power. As, therefore, the ſenate had ratified all Cæſar's acts without diſtinction, he formed a ſcheme upon this of making him rule when dead as imperiouſly as he had done when living. Being, as was ſaid, poſſeſſed of Cæſar's books of accounts, he ſo far gained upon his ſecretary as to make him inſert whatever he thought proper. By theſe means great ſums of money, which Cæſar would never have beſtowed, were there diſtributed among the people; and every man who had any ſeditious deſigns againſt the government was there ſure of finding a gratuity. Things being in this ſituation, Antony demanded of the ſenate, that Cæſar's funeral obſequies ſhould be performed, which they could not decently forbid, as they had never declared him a tyrant: accordingly, the body was brought forth into the Forum with the utmoſt ſolemnity; and Antony, who charged himſelf with theſe laſt duties of friendſhip, began his operations upon the paſſions of the people by the prevailing motives of private intereſt. He firſt read them Cæſar's will, in which he had left Octavius, his ſiſter's grandſon, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæſar, and three parts of his private fortune; and Brutus was to inherit in caſe of his death. The Roman people were

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left the gardens which he had on the other ſide of the Tyber; and every citizen, in particular, was to receive three hundred ſeſterces; and unfolding Cæſar's bloody robe in ſight of the multitude, he took care they ſhould obſerve the number of ſtabs in it: then diſplayed an image which to them appeared the body of Cæſar all covered with wounds. They could no longer contain their indignation, but unanimouſly cried out for revenge, and ran, with flaming brands from the pile, to ſet fire to the conſpirators houſes. In this rage of reſentment, meeting with one Cinna, whom they miſtook for another of the ſame name who was in the conſpiracy, they tore him in pieces. The conſpirators themſelves, however, being well guarded, repulſed the multitude with no great trouble; but perceiving the rage of the people, they thought it, ſoon after, ſafeſt to retire from the city.

In the mean time, Antony, who had excited this flame, reſolved to make the beſt of the occaſion. But an obſtacle to his ambition ſeemed to ariſe from a quarter on which he leaſt expected it, namely, from Octavius Cæſar, afterwards called Auguſtus, who was the grand nephew and adopted ſon of Cæſar. A third competitor alſo for power appeared in Lepidus, a man of ſome authority and great riches at Rome. At firſt the ambition of theſe three ſeemed to threaten fatal conſequences to each other, but uniting ſoon after in the common cauſe, they reſolved to revenge the death of Cæſar, and dividing all power among themſelves, formed what is called the ſecond Triumvirate.

The meeting of theſe three uſurpers of their country's freedom, was near Mutina, upon a little iſland of the river Panarus. Their mutual ſuſpicions were the cauſe of their meeting in a place where they could not fear any treachery; for, even in their union, they could not diveſt themſelves of mutual

diffidence. Lepidus firſt entered; and, finding all things ſafe, made the ſignal for the other two to approach. They embraced each other upon their firſt meeting; and Auguſtus began the conference, by thanking Antony for his zeal, in putting Decimus Brutus to death; who, being abandoned by his army, was taken, as he was deſigning to eſcape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Antony's command. They then entered upon the buſineſs that lay before them, without any retroſpection of the paſt. Their conference laſted for three days; and, in this period, they fixed a diviſion of government, and determined upon the fate of thouſands. The reſult of which was, that the ſupreme authority ſhould be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the ſpace of five years; that Antony ſhould have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Auguſtus, Africa, and the Mediterranean iſlands. As for Italy, and the eaſtern provinces, they were to remain in common, until their general enemy was entirely ſubdued; where among other articles of union, it was agreed, that all their enemies ſhould be deſtroyed, of which each preſented a liſt. In theſe were compriſed, not only the enemies, but the friends of the Triumvirate, ſince the partizans of the one were often found among the oppoſers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Antony permitted the proſcription of his uncle Lucius; and Auguſtus delivered up the great Cicero, who was aſſaſſinated ſhortly after by Antony's command.

In the mean time, Brutus and Caſſius, the principal of the conſpirators againſt Cæſar, being compelled to quit Rome, went into Greece, where they perſuaded the Roman ſtudents at Athens to declare in the cauſe of freedom; then parting, the former raiſed a powerful army in Macedonia, and the adjacent countries, while the latter went into Syria, where

where he ſoon became maſter of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent, Dolabella, to ſuch ſtreights as to kill himſelf. Both armies ſoon after joining at Smyrna, the ſight of ſuch a formidable force began to revive the declining ſpirits of the party, and to reunite the two generals ſtill more cloſely, between whom there had been, ſome time before, a ſlight miſunderſtanding. In ſhort, having quitted Italy like diſtreſſed exiles, without having one ſingle ſoldier or one town that owned their command, they now found themſelves at the head of a flouriſhing army, furniſhed with all the neceſſaries for carrying on the war, and in a condition to ſupport a conteſt where the empire of the world depended on the event. This ſucceſs in raiſing levies was entirely owing to the juſtice, moderation, and great humanity of Brutus, who, in every inſtance, ſeemed ſtudious of the happineſs of his country, and not his own.

It was in this flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs, that the conſpirators had formed a reſolution of going againſt Cleopatra, who had made great preparations to aſſiſt their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpoſe by an information that Auguſtus and Antony were now upon their march, with forty legions to oppoſe them. Brutus, therefore, moved to have their army paſs over into Greece and Macedonia, and there meet the enemy; but Caſſius ſo far prevailed, as to have the Rhodians and Lycians firſt reduced, who had refuſed their uſual contributions. This expedition was immediately put in execution, and extraordinary contributions were raiſed by that means, the Rhodians having ſcarce any thing left them but their lives. The Lycians ſuffered ſtill more ſeverely; for, having ſhut themſelves up in the city of Xanthius, they defended the place againſt Brutus with ſuch fury, that neither his arts nor entreaties could prevail upon them to ſurrender. At

length, the town being ſet on fire, by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus, inſtead of laying hold on this opportunity to ſtorm the place, made every effort to preſerve it, entreating his ſoldiers to try all means of extinguiſhing the fire: but the deſperate phrenzy of the citizens was not to be mollified. Far from thinking themſelves obliged to their generous enemy, for the efforts which were made to ſave them, they reſolved to periſh in the flames. Wherefore, inſtead of extinguiſhing, they did all in their power to augment the fire, by throwing in wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the diſtreſs of Brutus, upon ſeeing the townſmen thus reſolutely bent on deſtroying themſelves; he rode about the fortifications, ſtretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themſeves and their city; but, inſenſible to his expoſtulations, they ruſhed into the flames with deſperate obſtinacy, and the whole ſoon became an heap of undiſtinguiſhable ruin. At this horrid ſpectacle Brutus melted into tears, offering a reward to every ſoldier who ſhould bring him a Lycian alive. The number of thoſe whom it was poſſible to ſave from their own fury amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty.

Brutus and Caſſius met once more at Sardis, where, after the uſual ceremonies were paſt between them, they reſolved to have a private conference together. They ſhut themſelves up, therefore, in the firſt convenient houſe, with expreſs orders to their ſervants to give no admiſſion. Brutus began, by reprimanding Caſſius for having diſpoſed of offices, which ſhould ever be the reward of merit, and for having overtaxed the tributary ſtates. Caſſius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterneſs, as he knew the charge to be groundleſs. The debate grew warm, till, from loud ſpeaking, they burſt into tears. Their friends, who were ſtanding at the door,

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overheard the encreaſing vehemence of their voices, and began to dread for the conſequences, till Favonius, who valued himſelf upon a cynical boldneſs, that knew no reſtraint, entering the room with a jeſt, calmed their mutual animoſity. Caſſius was ready enough to forego his anger, being a man of great abilities but of uneven diſpoſition; not averſe to pleaſure in private company; and, upon the whole, of morals not quite ſincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly ſteady. An even gentleneſs, a noble elevation of ſentiments, a ſtrength of mind over which neither vice nor pleaſure could have any influence, an inflexible firmneſs in the defence of juſtice, compoſed the character of that great man. After their conference, night coming on, Caſſius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment, where freedom and chearfulneſs, for a while, took place of political anxiety, and ſoftened the ſeverity of wiſdom. Upon retiring home it was that Brutus, as Plutarch tells the ſtory, ſaw a ſpectre in his tent. He naturally ſlept but little, and he had increaſed this ſtate of watchfulneſs by habit and great ſobriety. He never allowed himſelf to ſleep in the day time, as was then common in Rome, and only gave ſo much of the night to ſleep as could barely renew the natural functions. But eſpecially now, when oppreſt with ſuch various cares, he only gave a ſhort time after his nightly repaſt to reſt; and, waking about midnight, generally read or ſtudied till morning. It was in the dead of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading by a lamp that was juſt expiring. On a ſudden he thought he heard a noiſe as if ſome body entered, and looking towards the door he perceived it open. A gigantic figure, with a frightful aſpect, ſtood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with ſilent ſeverity. At laſt Brutus had courage to ſpeak to it: "Art thou a dæmon or

" a mortal man? and why comeſt thou to me?"
" Brutus," replied the phantom, " I am thy evil
" genius; thou ſhalt ſee me again at Philippi."
" Well, then," anſwered Brutus, without being diſ-
compoſed, " we ſhall meet again." Upon which
the phantom vaniſhed, and Brutus calling to his ſer-
vants, aſked if they had ſeen any thing; to which
replying in the negative, he again reſumed his ſtu-
dies. But as he was ſtruck with ſo ſtrange an occur-
rence, he mentioned it the next day to Caſſius, who,
being an Epicurean, aſcribed it to the effect of an
imagination too much exerciſed by vigilance and
anxiety. Brutus appeared ſatisfied with this ſolution
of his late terrors, and as Antony and Auguſtus
were now advanced into Macedonia, he and his
colleague paſſed over into Thrace, and drew near
to the city of Philippi, where the forces of the tri-
umviri were poſted to receive them.

All mankind now began to regard the approaching
armies with terror and ſuſpenſe. The empire of the
world depended upon the fate of a battle; as from
victory, on the one ſide, they had to expect freedom;
but from the other a ſovereign with abſolute com-
mand. Brutus was the only man who looked upon
theſe great events before him with calmneſs and
tranquility. Indifferent as to ſucceſs, and ſatisfied
with having done his duty, he ſaid to one of his
friends, " If I gain the victory, I ſhall reſtore liberty
" to my country; if I loſe it, by dying, I ſhall be
" delivered from ſlavery myſelf; my condition is fix-
" ed, and I run no hazards." The republican
army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand foot, and twen-
ty thouſand horſe. The army of the triumviri
amounted to an hundred thouſand foot, and thirteen
thouſand horſe. Thus complete on both ſides, they
met and encamped near each other upon the plains
of Philippi, a city upon the confines of Thrace. This
city was ſituated upon a mountain, towards the weſt

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of which a plain ſtretched itſelf, by a gentle declivity, almoſt fifteen leagues to the banks of the river Strymon. In this plain, about two miles from the town, were two little hills at about a mile diſtance from each other, defended on one ſide by mountains, on the other by a marſh which communicated with the ſea. It was upon theſe two hills that Brutus and Caſſius fixed their camps: Brutus on the hill towards the north; Caſſius on that towards the ſouth: and in the intermediate ſpace which ſeparated them, they caſt up lines and a parapet from one hill to the other. Thus they kept a firm communication between the two camps, which mutually defended each other. In this commodious ſituation they could act as they thought proper, and give battle only when it was thought to their advantage to engage. Behind them was the ſea, which furniſhed them with all kinds of proviſions; and at twelve miles diſtance, the iſland of Thaſos, which ſerved them for a general magazine. The triumviri, on the other hand, were encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to bring their proviſions from fifteen leagues diſtance; ſo that their ſcheme and intereſt was to bring on a battle as ſoon as they could. This they offered ſeveral times, drawing out their men from their camp, and provoking the enemy to engage. On the contrary, theſe contented themſelves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without deſcending to the plain. This reſolution of poſtponing the battle, was all that the republican army had for it; and Caſſius, who was aware of his advantage, reſolved to harraſs the enemy rather than engage them. But Brutus began to ſuſpect the fidelity of ſome of his officers, ſo that he uſed all his influence to perſuade Caſſius to change his reſolution. "I am impatient," ſaid he, "to put an end to the "miſeries of mankind, and in that I have hopes of "ſucceeding whether I fall or conquer." His wiſhes

were ſoon gratified; for Antony's ſoldiers having with great labour, made a road through the marſh which lay to the left of Caſſius's camp, by that means opened a communication with the Iſland of Thaſos, which lay behind him. Both armies, in attempting to poſſeſs themſelves of this road, reſolved, at length, to come to a general engagement. This, however, was contrary to the advice of Caſſius, who declared, that he was forced, as Pompey had formerly been, to expoſe the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a battle. The enſuing morning the two generals gave the ſignal for engaging, and conferred together a little while before the battle began. Caſſius deſired to know how Brutus intended to act in caſe they were unſucceſsful: to which the other replied, "That "he had formerly, in his writings, condemned the "death of Cato; and maintained, that avoiding ca-"lamities by ſuicide, was an inſolent attempt againſt "Heaven that ſent them; but he had now altered "his opinions, and, having given up his life to his "country, he thought he had a right to his own "way of ending it; wherefore he was reſolved to "change a miſerable being here, for a better here-"after if fortune proved againſt him." Well ſaid, "my friend," cried Caſſius embracing him, "now "we may venture to face the enemy; for either we "ſhall be conquerors ourſelves, or we ſhall have no "cauſe to fear thoſe that are ſo." Auguſtus being ſick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded alone by Antony, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Caſſius. Brutus on the other ſide, made a dreadful irruption on the army of Auguſtus; and drove forward with ſo much intrepidity, that he broke them upon the very firſt charge. Upon this he penetrated as far as the camp, and cutting in pieces thoſe who were left for its defence, his troops immediately began to plunder; but in the mean time the lines of Caſſius were forced,

and

and his cavalry put to flight. There was no effort that this unfortunate general did not uſe to make his infantry ſtand, ſtopping thoſe that fled, and ſeizing himſelf the colours to rally them. But his own valour alone was not ſufficient to inſpire his timorous army; wherefore, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he cauſed himſelf to be ſlain by one of his freedmen. Brutus was ſoon informed of the defeat of Caſſius, and ſoon after of his death as he drew near the camp. He ſeemed ſcarce able to reſtrain the exceſs of his grief for a man whom he called the laſt of the Romans.

But his firſt care, when he became the ſole general, was to aſſemble the diſperſed troops of Caſſius, and animate them with freſh hopes of victory. As they had loſt all they poſſeſſed by the plundering of their camp, he promiſed them two thouſand denarii each man to make up their loſſes. This once more inſpired them with new ardour; they admired the liberality of their general, and with loud ſhouts proclaimed his former intrepidity. Still, however, he had not confidence ſufficient to face the adverſary, who offered him battle the enſuing day. His aim was to ſtarve his enemies, who were in extreme want of proviſions, their fleet having been lately defeated. But his ſingle opinion was over-ruled by the reſt of his army, who now grew every day more confident of their ſtrength, and more arrogant to their new general. He was, therefore, at laſt, after a reſpite of twenty days, obliged to comply with their ſollicitations to try the fate of the battle. Both armies being drawn out, they remained a long while oppoſite to each other without offering to engage. But it is ſaid that he himſelf had loſt much of his natural ardour by having ſeen a ſpectre the night preceding; however, he encouraged his men as much as poſſible, and gave the ſignal for another battle. He had, as uſual, the advantage where he commanded in perſon; bearing down the enemy at the head of his in-

fantry, and, ſupported by his cavalry, making a very great ſlaughter. But the troops which had belonged to Caſſius communicating their terror to the reſt of the forces, at laſt, the whole army gave way. Brutus, ſurrounded by the moſt valiant of his officers, fought for a long time with amazing valour. The ſon of Cato fell fighting by his ſide, as alſo the brother of Caſſius; ſo that, at laſt, he was obliged to yield to neceſſity, and fled. In the mean time the two triumviri, now aſſured of victory, expreſly ordered by no means to ſuffer the general to eſcape, for fear he ſhould renew the war. Thus the whole body of the enemy ſeemed chiefly intent on Brutus alone, and his capture ſeemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, was reſolved, by his own death, to effect his general's delivery. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horſe cloſely purſuing Brutus, and juſt upon the point of taking him, he boldly threw himſelf in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with ſo great a prize, immediately diſpatched ſome of their companions with the news of their ſucceſs, to the army. Upon which, the ardour of the purſuit now abating, Antony marched out to meet his priſoner, and to haſten his death, or inſult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and ſoldiers, ſome ſilently deploring the death of ſo virtuous a man; others reproaching that mean deſire of life for which he conſented to undergo captivity. Antony now ſeeing the Thracians approach, began to prepare himſelf for the interview; but the faithful Lucilius, advancing with a chearful air, "It is not "Brutus," ſaid he, "that is taken; fortune has "not yet had the power of committing ſo great an "outrage upon virtue. As for my life, it is well "ſpent in preſerving his honour; take it, for I have "deceived you." Antony, ſtruck with ſo much fidelity, pardoned him upon the ſpot; and from that

that time forward loaded him with benefits, and honoured him with his friendſhip.

In the mean time, Brutus, with a ſmall number of friends, paſſed over a rivulet, and, night coming on, ſat down under a rock which concealed him from the purſuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a little time, and caſting his eyes up to Heaven, he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wiſh to the gods, "that guilt ſhould not paſs in this life without puniſhment." To this he added another from the ſame poet: "O Virtue! thou empty name, I "have worſhipped thee as a real good, but thou art "only the ſlave of Fortune." He then called to mind, with great tenderneſs, thoſe whom he had ſeen periſh in battle, and ſent out one Statilius to give him ſome information of thoſe that remained; but he never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horſe. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now reſolved to die likewiſe, and ſpoke to thoſe who ſtood round him to lend him their laſt ſad aſſiſtance. None of them, however, would render him ſo melancholy a ſervice. He, therefore, called to one of his ſlaves to perform what he ſo ardently deſired; but Strato, his tutor, offered himſelf, crying out, "that it ſhould "never be ſaid that Brutus, in his laſt extremity, "ſtood in need of a ſlave for want of a friend." Thus ſaying, and averting his head, he preſented the ſword's point to Brutus, who threw himſelf upon it, and immediately expired.

From the moment of Brutus's death, the triumviri began to act as ſovereigns, and to divide the Roman dominions between them, as theirs by right of conqueſt. However tho' there were apparently three who participated all power, yet, in fact, only two were actually poſſeſſed of it, ſince Lepidus was at firſt admitted merely to curb the mutual jealouſy of Antony and Auguſtus; and was poſſeſſed neither of intereſt in the army, nor authority among the people

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Their firſt care was to puniſh thoſe whom they had formerly marked for vengeance. Hortenſius, Druſus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the firſt rank in the commonwealth, either killed themſelves or were ſlain. A ſenator and his ſon were ordered to caſt lots for their lives, but both refuſed it; the father voluntarily gave himſelf up to the executioner, and the ſon ſtabbed himſelf before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which Auguſtus replied, "that he ſhould find a grave in the vultures "that devoured him." But chiefly the people lamented to ſee the head of Brutus ſent to Rome to be thrown at the foot of Cæſar's ſtatue. His aſhes, however, were ſent to his wife Porcia, Cato's daughter, who, following the example of her huſband and father, killed herſelf by ſwallowing burning coals. It is obſerved, that of all thoſe who had a hand in the death of Cæſar, not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus eſtabliſhed upon the ruin of the commonwealth, they now began to think of enjoying that homage to which they had aſpired. Antony went into Greece to receive the flattery of that refined people, and ſpent ſome time at Athens, converſing among the philoſophers, and aſſiſting at their diſputes in perſon. From thence he paſſed over into Aſia, where all the monarchs of the Eaſt, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; while the faireſt princeſſes ſtrove to gain his favour by the greatneſs of their preſents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a croud of ſovereigns, exacting contributions, diſtributing favours, and giving away crowns with capricious inſolence. He preſented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Syſenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only becauſe he found pleaſure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the mother of the former. He ſettled Herod in the kingdom of Judea, and ſupported him againſt every oppoſer.

oppoſer. But among all the ſovereigns of the Eaſt who ſhared his favours, none had ſo large a part as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

It happened that Serapion, her governor in the iſland of Cyprus, had formerly furniſhed ſome ſuccours to the conſpirators; and it was thought proper that he ſhould anſwer for his conduct on that occaſion. Accordingly, having received orders from Antony to come and clear herſelf of this imputation of infidelity, ſhe readily complied, equally conſcious of the goodneſs of her cauſe, and the power of her beauty. She was now in her twenty-ſeventh year, and conſequently had improved thoſe allurements by art, which, in earlier age, are ſeldom attended to. Her addreſs and wit were ſtill further heightened, and, tho' there were ſome women in Rome that were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the charms of ſeducing converſation. Antony was now in Tarſus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra reſolved to attend his court in perſon. She ſailed to meet him down the river Cydnus, at the mouth of which the city ſtood, with the moſt ſumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold, the ſails of purple, large, and floating in the wind. The oars, of ſilver, kept time to the ſound of flutes and cymbals. She herſelf lay reclined on a couch ſpangled with ſtars of gold, and with ſuch ornaments as poets and painters had uſually aſcribed to Venus. On each ſide were boys like Cupids, who fanned her by turns; while the moſt beautiful nymphs dreſt like Neriads and Graces, were placed at proper diſtances around her. Upon the banks of the river were kept burning the moſt exquiſite perfumes, while an infinite number of people gazed upon the ſight with a mixture of delight and admiration. Antony was captivated with her beauty, and, leaving all his buſineſs to ſatisfy his paſſion, ſhortly after followed her into Egypt. There he continued in all that eaſe and

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ſoftneſs to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to ſupply.

While he remained thus idle in Egypt, Auguſtus, who took upon him to lead back the veteran troops and ſettle them in Italy, was aſſiduouſly employed in providing for their ſubſiſtence. He had promiſed them lands at home, as a recompence for their paſt ſervices; but they could not receive their new grants without turning out the former inhabitants. In conſequence of this, multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence excited univerſal compaſſion, daily filled the temples and the ſtreets with their diſtreſſes. Numbers of huſbandmen and ſhepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain an habitation in ſome other part of the world. Among this number was Virgil, the poet, to whom mankind owe more obligations, than to a thouſand conquerors, who, in an humble manner, begged permiſſion to retain his patrimonial farm: Virgil obtained his requeſt, but the reſt of his countrymen, of Mantua and Cremona were turned out without mercy.

Italy and Rome now felt the moſt extreme miſeries; the inſolent ſoldiers plundered at will; while Sextus Pompey, being maſter of the ſea, cut off all foreign communication, and prevented the people's receiving their uſual ſupplies of corn. To theſe miſchiefs were added the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had been left behind him at Rome, had felt for ſome time all the rage of jealouſy, and reſolved to try every method of bringing back her huſband from the arms of Cleopatra. She conſidered a breach with Auguſtus, as the only probable means of rouzing him from his lethargy; and, accordingly, with the aſſiſtance of Lucius, her brother-in-law, who was then conſul, and entirely devoted to her intereſt, ſhe

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began to ſow the ſeeds of diſſention. The pretext was, that Antony ſhould have a ſhare in the diſtribution of lands as well as Auguſtus. This produced negociations between them, and Auguſtus offered to make the veterans themſelves umpires in the diſpute. Lucius refuſed to acquieſce; and, being at the head of more than ſix legions, moſtly compoſed of ſuch as were diſpoſſeſſed, he reſolved to compel Auguſtus to accept of whatever terms he ſhould offer. Thus a new war was excited between Auguſtus and Antony; or, at leaſt, the generals of the latter aſſumed the ſanction of his name. Auguſtus, however, was victorious: Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and conſtrained to retreat to Peruſia, a city of Etruria, where he was cloſely beſieged by the oppoſite party. He made many deſperate ſallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him, but without ſucceſs. He was at laſt, therefore, reduced to ſuch extremity, by famine, that he came out in perſon, and delivered himſelf up to the mercy of the conqueror. Auguſtus received him very honourably, and generouſly pardoned him and all his followers.

Antony having heard of his brother's overthrow, and his wife's being compelled to leave Italy, was reſolved to oppoſe Auguſtus without delay. He accordingly ſailed, at the head of a conſiderable fleet, from Alexandria to Tyre; and from thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, and had an interview with Fulvia, his wife, at Athens. He much blamed her for occaſioning the late diſorders; teſtified the utmoſt contempt for her perſon; and leaving her upon her death-bed, at Sycion, haſtened into Italy to fight Auguſtus. They both met at Brunduſium; and it was now thought that the flames of a civil war were going to blaze out once more. The forces of Antony were numerous, but moſtly new raiſed; however, he was aſſiſted by Sextus Pompeius, who,

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in theſe oppoſitions of intereſt, was daily coming into power. Auguſtus was at the head of thoſe veterans, who had always been irreſiſtible, but who ſeemed no way diſpoſed to fight againſt Antony, their former general. A negociation was, therefore, propoſed; and, by the activity of Coccéius, a friend to both, a reconciliation was effected. All offences and affronts were mutually forgiven; and, to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Antony and Octavia, the ſiſter of Auguſtus. A new diviſion of the Roman empire was made between them; Auguſtus was to have the command of the Weſt; Antony of the Eaſt; while Lepidus was obliged to content himſelf with the provinces in Africa. As for Sextus Pompeius, he was permitted to retain all the iſlands he had already poſſeſſed, together with Peloponneſus: he was alſo granted the privilege of demanding the conſulſhip in his abſence, and of diſcharging that office by any of his friends. It was likewiſe ſtipulated to leave the ſea open, and pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who now expected a ceſſation from all their calamities.

This calm ſeemed to continue for ſome time; Antony led his forces againſt the Parthians, over whom his lieutenant Ventidius had gained ſome advantages. Auguſtus drew the greateſt part of his army into Gaul, where there were ſome diſturbances; and Pompey went to ſecure his newly ceded province to his intereſt. It was on this quarter that freſh motives were given for renewing the war. Antony, who was obliged, by treaty, to quit Peloponneſus, refuſed to evacuate it till Pompey had ſatisfied him for ſuch debts as were due to him from the inhabitants. This Pompey would by no means comply with, but immediately fitted out a new fleet, and renewed his former enterprizes, by cutting off ſuch

corn

corn and proviſions as were conſigned to Italy. Thus the grievances of the poor were again renewed; and the people began to complain, that inſtead of three tyrants, they were now oppreſſed by four.

In this exigence Auguſtus, who had long meditated the beſt means of diminiſhing the number, reſolved to begin by getting rid of Pompey, who kept the ſtate in continual alarms. He was maſter of two fleets; one, which he had cauſed to be built at Ravenna; and another which Menodorus, who revolted from Pompey, brought to his aid. His firſt attempt was to invade Sicily; but being overpowered in his paſſage by Pompey, and afterwards ſhattered in a ſtorm, he was obliged to defer his deſigns to the enſuing year. During this interval he was reinforced by a noble fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips, given him by Antony, with which he reſolved once more to invade Sicily on three ſeveral quarters. But fortune ſeemed ſtill determined to oppoſe him. He was a ſecond time diſabled and ſhattered by a ſtorm; which ſo raiſed the vanity of Pompey, that he began to ſtyle himſelf the ſon of Neptune. However, Auguſtus was not to be intimidated by any diſgraces; for, having ſhortly refitted his navy, and recruited his forces, he gave the command of both to Agrippa, his faithful friend and aſſociate in war. Agrippa proved himſelf worthy of the truſt repoſed in him; he began his operations by a victory over Pompey; and, though he was ſhortly after worſted himſelf, he ſoon after gave his adverſary a complete and final overthrow. Thus undone, Pompey reſolved to fly to Antony, from whom he expected refuge, as he had formerly obliged that triumvir by giving protection to his mother. However, a gleam of hope offering, he tried, once more, at the head of a ſmall body of men, to make himſelf independent, and even ſurpriſed Antony's lieutenants,

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who had been ſent to accept of his ſubmiſſions. Nevertheleſs, he was at laſt abandoned by his ſoldiers, and delivered up to Titus, Antony's lieutenant, who ſhortly after cauſed him to be ſlain.

The death of this general removed one very powerful obſtacle to the ambition of Auguſtus, and he reſolved to take the earlieſt opportunity to get rid of the reſt of his aſſociates.

An offence ſoon after this was furniſhed by Lepidus, that ſerved as a ſufficient pretext to Auguſtus for depriving him of his ſhare in the triumvirate. Being at the head of twenty-two legions, with a ſtrong body of cavalry, he idly ſuppoſed that his preſent power was more than an equivalent to the popularity of Auguſtus. He, therefore, reſolved upon adding Sicily, where he then was, to his province, pretending a right, as having firſt invaded it. Auguſtus ſent to expoſtulate upon theſe proceedings; but Lepidus fiercely replied, "That he was determined to have his ſhare in the adminiſtration, and would no longer ſubmit to let one alone poſſeſs all the authority." Auguſtus was previouſly informed of the diſpoſition of Lepidus's ſoldiers; for he had, by his ſecret intrigues and largeſſes, entirely attached them to himſelf. Wherefore, without farther delay, he, with great boldneſs, went alone to the camp of Lepidus, and with no other aſſiſtance than his private bounties, and the authority he had gained by his former victories, he depoſed his rival. Lepidus was deprived of all his former authority, and baniſhed to Circæum, where he continued the reſt of his life, deſpiſed by his friends, and to all a melancholy object of blaſted ambition.

There remained now but one obſtacle to his ambition, which was Antony, whom he reſolved to remove, and for that purpoſe began to render his character as contemptible as he poſſibly could at Rome. In fact, Antony's conduct did not a little contribute

bute to promote the endeavours of his ambitious partner. He had marched againſt the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return with the loſs of the fourth part of his forces, and all his baggage. However, Antony ſeemed quite regardleſs of contempt: alive only to pleaſure, and totally diſregarding the buſineſs of the ſtate, he ſpent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who ſtudied every art to encreaſe his paſſion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been ſo much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleaſure, and making trifles important: ſtill ingenious in filling up the languid pauſes of ſenſual delight with ſome new ſtroke of refinement, ſhe was at one time a queen; then a Bacchanal, and ſometimes an huntreſs. She invented a ſociety called, The Inimitable; and thoſe of the court who made the moſt ſumptuous entertainments, carried away the prize. Not contented with ſharing, in her company, all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was reſolved to enlarge his ſphere of luxury, by granting her many of thoſe kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phænicia, Celo-Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judea; gifts which he had no right to beſtow, but which he had pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly at laſt totally exaſperated the Romans, and Auguſtus, willing to take the advantage of their reſentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people ſufficiently irritated againſt him, he reſolved to ſend Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Antony, as if with a view of reclaiming her huſband; but, in fact, to furniſh a ſufficient pretext of declaring war againſt him, as he knew ſhe would be diſmiſſed with contempt.

Antony was now at the city of Leucopolis, revelling with his inſidious paramour, when he heard that

that Octavia was at Athens, upon her journey to viſit him. This was very unwelcome news as well to him as to Cleopatra; who, fearing the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Antony of the ſtrength of her paſſion by her ſighs, languiſhing looks, and well-feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which ſhe ſeemed as if willing to hide; and often entreated her to tell him the cauſe, which ſhe ſeemed willing to ſuppreſs. Theſe artifices, together with the ceaſeleſs flattery, and importunity of her creatures, prevailed ſo much upon Antony's weakneſs, that he commanded Octavia to return home, without ſeeing her; and ſtill more to exaſperate the people of Rome, he reſolved to repudiate her, and take Cleopatra as his wife. He accordingly aſſembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raiſed an alcove of ſilver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himſelf and the other for Cleopatra. There he ſeated himſelf, dreſt like Bacchus, while Cleopatra ſat beſide him, cloathed in the ornaments and attributes of Iſis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occaſion he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already beſtowed upon her; while he aſſociated Cæſario, her ſon by Cæſar, as her partner in the government. To the two children which he had by her himſelf, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extenſive dominions: and, to crown his abſurdities, he next ſent a minute account of his proceedings to the two conſuls at Rome.

In the mean time Auguſtus had now a ſufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the ſenate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his deſigns for a while, being then employed in quelling an inſurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations againſt Antony, who, perceiving his deſign, remonſtrated to the ſenate, that he had many cauſes of complaint

complaint againſt his colleague, who had ſeized upon Sicily without affording him a ſhare: alledging that he had alſo diſpoſſeſſed Lepidus, and kept to himſelf the province he had commanded; and that he had divided all Italy among his own ſoldiers, leaving nothing to recompenſe thoſe in Aſia. To this complaint Auguſtus was contented to make a ſarcaſtic anſwer, implying, that it was abſurd to complain of his diſtribution of a few trifling diſtricts in Italy; when, Antony having conquered Parthia, he might now reward his ſoldiers with cities and provinces. This ſarcaſm provoked him to ſend his army, without intermiſſion, into Europe, to meet Auguſtus, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there, it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleaſure and for war. On one ſide, all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine ſea, had orders to ſend him ſupplies both of men, proviſions, and arms; on the other ſide, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and muſicians of Greece, were ordered to attend him.

This delay at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, where he carried Cleopatra, to receive new honours, was extremely favourable to the arms of Auguſtus, who was, at firſt, ſcarcely in a diſpoſition to oppoſe him, had he gone into Italy; but he ſoon found time to put himſelf in a condition for carrying on the war; and, ſhortly after, declared it againſt him in form. At length both ſides found themſelves in readineſs to begin the war, and their armies were anſwerable to the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the Eaſt; the other drew all the ſtrength of the Weſt to ſupport his pretenſions. Antony's force compoſed a body of an hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; while his fleet amounted to five hundred ſhips of war.

The

The army of Auguſtus muſtered but eighty thouſand foot, but equalled his adverſary's in the number of cavalry: his fleet was but half as numerous as Antony's; however, his ſhips were better built, and manned with better ſoldiers.

The great deciſive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulph of Ambracia. Antony ranged his ſhips before the mouth of the gulph; and Auguſtus drew up his fleet in oppoſition. Neither general aſſumed any fixed ſtation to command in, but went about from ſhip to ſhip, wherever his preſence was neceſſary. In the mean time, the two land armies, on oppoſite ſides of the gulph, were drawn up, only as ſpectators of the engagement; and encouraged the fleets, by their ſhouts, to engage. The battle began, on both ſides, with great ardour; and after a manner not practiſed on former occaſions. The prows of their veſſels were armed with brazen points; and with theſe they drove furiouſly againſt each other. They fought for ſome time with great fury, nor was there any advantage on either ſide, except a ſmall appearance of diſorder in the centre of Antony's fleet. But all of a ſudden, Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was ſeen flying from the engagement, attended by ſixty ſail; ſtruck, perhaps, with the terrors natural to her ſex: but what encreaſed the general amazement, was, to behold Antony himſelf following ſoon after, leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors; and the army at land ſoon after followed their example.

When Cleopatra fled, Antony purſued her in a five-oared galley; and, coming along ſide of her ſhip, entered it without ſeeing or being ſeen by her. She was in the ſtern, and he went to the prow, where he remained for ſome time ſilent, holding his head between his hands. In this manner he continued three whole days, during which, either thro

thro' indignation or ſhame, he neither ſaw nor ſpoke to Cleopatra. At laſt, when they were arrived at the promontory of Tenarus, the queen's female attendants reconciled them, and every thing went on as before. Still, however, he had the conſolation to ſuppoſe his army continued faithful to him; and accordingly diſpatched orders to his lieutenant Canidius, to conduct it into Aſia. However, he was ſoon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their ſubmiſſion to his rival. This account ſo tranſported him with rage, that he was hardly prevented from killing himſelf; but at length, at the entreaty of his friends he returned to Alexandria. Cleopatra, however, ſeemed to retain that fortitude in her misfortunes, which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having amaſſed conſiderable riches, by means of confiſcations, and other acts of violence, ſhe formed a very ſingular and unheard of project: this was to convey her whole fleet over the iſthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby ſave herſelf in another region, beyond the reach of Rome, with all her treaſures. Some of her veſſels were actually tranſported thither, purſuant to her orders; but the Arabians having burnt them, and Antony diſſuading her from the deſign, ſhe abandoned it for the more improbable ſcheme of defending Egypt againſt the conqueror. She omitted nothing in her power to put this advice in practice, and made all kinds of preparations for war; at leaſt hoping thereby to obtain better terms from Auguſtus. In fact, ſhe had always loved Antony's fortunes rather than his perſon; and if ſhe could have fallen upon any method of ſaving herſelf, though even at his expence, there is no doubt but ſhe would have embraced it with gladneſs. She even ſtill had ſome hopes from the power of her charms, though ſhe was arrived almoſt at the age of forty; and was deſirous of trying upon Auguſtus, thoſe arts which had been

been ſo ſucceſsful with the greateſt men of Rome. Thus, in three embaſſies, which were ſent one after another, from Antony to Auguſtus in Aſia, the queen had always her ſecret agents, charged with particular propoſals in her name. Antony deſired no more than that his life might be ſpared, and to have the liberty of paſſing the remainder of his days in obſcurity. To thoſe propoſals Auguſtus made no reply. Cleopatra ſent him alſo public propoſals in favour of her children; but at the ſame time privately reſigned him her crown, with all the enſigns of royalty. To the queen's public propoſal, no anſwer was given: to her private offer he replied, by giving her aſſurances of his favour, in caſe ſhe ſent away Antony, or put him to death. Theſe negociations were not ſo private but they came to the knowledge of Antony, whoſe jealouſy and rage every occurrence now contributed to heighten. He built a ſmall ſolitary houſe upon a mole in the ſea, and there ſhut himſelf up, a prey to all thoſe paſſions that are the tormentors of unſucceſsful tyranny. There he paſſed his time, ſhunning all commerce with mankind, and profeſſing to imitate Timon the man-hater. However, his furious jealouſy drove him even from this retreat into ſociety; for, hearing that Cleopatra had many ſecret conferences with one Thyrſus, an emiſſary from Auguſtus, he ſeized upon him, and having ordered him to be cruelly ſcourged, he ſent him back to his patron. At the ſame time he ſent letters by him, importing, that he had chaſtized Thyrſus for inſulting a man in misfortunes; but withal he gave Auguſtus permiſſion to avenge himſelf, by ſcourging Hiparchus, Antony's freedman, in the ſame manner. The revenge, in this caſe, would have been highly pleaſing to Antony, as Hiparchus had left him, to join the fortunes of his more ſucceſsful rival.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile, the operations of the war were carried vigorouſly forward, and Egypt ſoon after became again the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Auguſtus, took Paretonium, which opened the whole country to his incurſions. On the other ſide, Antony, who had ſtill conſiderable forces by ſea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He, therefore, marched towards it, flattering himſelf, that, as ſoon as he ſhould ſhew himſelf to the legions which he had once commanded, the affection for their ancient general would revive. He approached, therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity. Gallus, however, ordered all the trumpets to ſound, in order to hinder Antony from being heard, ſo that he was obliged to retire.

Auguſtus himſelf was in the mean time advancing with another army before Peluſium, which, by its ſtrong ſituation might have retarded his progreſs for ſome time. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previouſly inſtructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take poſſeſſion of the place; ſo that Auguſtus had now no obſtacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition. Antony, upon his arrival, ſailed out to oppoſe him, fighting with great deſperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This ſlight advantage once more revived his declining hopes; and being naturally vain, he reentered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the palace, he embraced Cleopatra, and preſented her a ſoldier who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late engagement. The queen rewarded him very magnificently; preſenting him with an head-piece and breaſt-plate of gold. With theſe, however, the ſoldier went off the next night to the other army; prudently reſolving to ſecure his

riches, by keeping on the ſtrongeſt ſide. Antony could not bear this defection without freſh indignation; he reſolved, therefore, to make a bold expiring effort by ſea and land, but previouſly offered to fight his adverſary in ſingle combat. Auguſtus too well knew the inequality of their ſituations, to comply with this forlorn offer; he only, therefore, coolly replied, that Antony had ways enough to die beſides by ſingle combat.

The day after, he poſted the few troops he had remaining, upon a riſing ground near the city; from whence he ſent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a ſpectator of the combat; and, at firſt, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee them advance in good order; but his approbation was ſoon turned into rage, when he ſaw his ſhips only ſaluting thoſe of Auguſtus, and both fleets uniting together, and ſailing back into the harbour. At the very ſame time his cavalry deſerted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry, which were eaſily vanquiſhed; and he himſelf compelled to return into the town. His anger was now ungovernable; he could not help crying out aloud as he paſt, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by her to thoſe who, for her ſake alone, were his enemies. In theſe ſuſpicions he was not deceived, for it was by ſecret orders from the queen that the fleet had paſt over to the enemy.

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Antony's jealouſy; and had, ſometime before, prepared a method of obviating any ſudden ſallies it might produce. Near the temple of Iſis, ſhe had erected a building, which was ſeemingly deſigned for a ſepulchre. Hither ſhe removed all her treaſure, and moſt valuable effects, covering them over with torches, faggots, and other combuſtible matter. This ſepulchre ſhe deſigned to anſwer a double purpoſe; as well to ſcreen her from the ſudden reſentments

of Antony, as to make Auguſtus believe that ſhe would burn all her treaſures, in caſe he refuſed her proper terms of capitulation. Here, therefore, ſhe retired from Antony's preſent fury; ſhutting the gates, which were fortified with bolts and bars of iron: but in the mean time, gave orders, that a report ſhould be ſpread of her death, which news ſoon reached Antony, and recalled all his former love and tenderneſs. This poor wretch was now a being ſubject to the guſt of every paſſion, and each of them in extreme. He now lamented her death with the ſame violence he had but a few minutes before ſeemed to deſire it. "Wretched man," cried he to himſelf, "what is there now worth living for; "ſince all that could ſooth or ſoften my cares is "departed! O Cleopatra," continued he, being got to his chamber, "our ſeparation does not ſo "much afflict me, as the diſgrace I ſuffer, in per- "mitting a woman to inſtruct me in the ways of "dying." He called one of his freedmen, named Eros, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, whenever fortune ſhould drive him to this laſt reſource. Eros being commanded to perform his promiſe, this faithful follower drew the ſword, as if going to execute his orders; but turning his face, plunged it into his own boſom, and died at his maſter's feet. Antony, for a while hung over his faithful ſervant, and commending his fidelity, took up the ſword, with which, ſtabbing himſelf in the belly, he fell backward upon a little couch. Though the wound was mortal, yet the blood ſtopping, he recovered his ſpirits, and earneſtly conjured thoſe who were come into the room, to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being ſeized with fright and horror. He, therefore, continued in this manner for ſome time, ſtill crying out and writhing with pain, till he was informed by one of the queen's ſecretaries that his miſtreſs was ſtill alive. He then earneſtly de-

ſired to be carried to the place where ſhe was. They accordingly brought him to the gate of the ſepulchre; but Cleopatra, who would not permit it to be opened, appeared at the window, and threw down cords, with which, with ſome difficulty, they pulled him up. They gently laid him on a couch, where ſhe gave way to her ſorrow, tearing her cloaths, beating her breaſt, and kiſſing the wound of which he was dying. Antony entreated her to moderate the tranſports of her grief, aſked for wine, and exhorting her not to lament for his misfortunes, but to congratulate him upon his former felicity, to conſider him as one who had lived the moſt powerful of men, and laſt died by the hand of a Roman. Juſt as he had done ſpeaking he expired, and Proculus made his appearance by command of Auguſtus, who had been informed of Antony's deſperate conduct. He was ſent to try all means of getting Cleopatra in his power. Auguſtus having a double motive for his ſolicitude on this occaſion; one, to prevent her deſtroying the treaſures ſhe had taken with her into the tomb; the other, to preſerve her perſon, as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculus, except through the gate, which was very well ſecured. In the mean time, Gallus, one of Auguſtus's ſoldiers, entered with two more by the window at which Antony had been drawn up; upon which, Cleopatra, perceiving what happened, drew a poniard, and attempted to ſtab herſelf, but was prevented.

Auguſtus was extremely pleaſed at finding her in his power: he ſent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and watch her with the utmoſt circumſpection. He was likewiſe ordered to uſe her, in every reſpect, with that deference and ſubmiſſion which were due to her rank; and to do every thing in his power to render her captivity agreeable. She was permitted

permitted to have the honour of granting Antony the rites of burial; and furniſhed with every thing ſhe deſired, that was becoming his dignity to receive, or her love to offer. Yet ſtill ſhe languiſhed under her new confinement; her exceſſive ſorrow, her many loſſes, and the blows ſhe had given her boſom, produced a fever which ſhe ſeemed willing to encreaſe. She reſolved to abſtain from taking any nouriſhment, under the pretence of a regimen neceſſary for her diſorder; but Auguſtus, being made acquainted with the real motive, by her phyſician, began to threaten her, with regard to her children, in caſe ſhe perſiſted.

In the mean time, Auguſtus made his entry into Alexandria; taking care to mitigate the fears of the inhabitants, by converſing familiarly as he went along, with Areus, a philoſopher, and a native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach; and when he placed himſelf upon the tribunal, they proſtrated themſelves, with their faces to the ground, before him, like criminals who waited the ſentence of their execution. Auguſtus preſently ordered them to riſe, telling them, that three motives induced him to pardon them. His reſpect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beauty; and his friendſhip for Areus, their fellow-citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occaſion; Antony's eldeſt ſon Antyllus, and Cæſario, the ſon of Julius Cæſar, both betrayed into his hands by their reſpective tutors, who themſelves ſuffered for their perfidy ſhortly after. As for the reſt of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleneſs, leaving them to the care of thoſe who were intruſted with their education, who had orders to provide them with every thing ſuitable to their birth. As for her, when ſhe was recovered from he late indiſpoſition, he came to viſit her in perſon; ſhe received

him lying on a couch, in a careleſs manner, and upon his entering the apartment, roſe up to proſtrate herſelf before him. She was dreſt in nothing but a looſe robe. Her misfortunes had given an air of ſeverity to her features; her hair was diſhevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes red with weeping. Yet, ſtill her natural beauty ſeemed to gleam through the diſtreſſes that ſurrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the alluring ſoftneſs of her looks, ſtill bore teſtimony to the former power of her charms. Auguſtus raiſed her with his uſual complaiſance, and deſiring her to ſit, placed himſelf beſide her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made uſe of every method ſhe could think of, to propitiate the conqueror. She tried apologies, entreaties and allurements, to obtain his favour, and ſoften his reſentment. She began by attempting to juſtify her conduct; but when her art and ſkill failed againſt manifeſt proofs, ſhe turned her defence into ſupplications. She talked of Cæſar's humanity to thoſe in diſtreſs; ſhe read ſome of his letters to her, full of tenderneſs, and enlarged upon the long intimacy that had paſt between them. "But of what ſervice," cried ſhe, "are now all his benefits to me! Why "could I not die with him! Yet he ſtill lives, me-"thinks I ſee him ſtill before me, he revives in you." Auguſtus was no ſtranger to this method of addreſs, but he remained firm againſt all attacks, anſwering always with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a different turn. She now addreſt his avarice, preſenting him with an inventory of her treaſure and jewels. This gave occaſion to a very ſingular ſcene, which ſhews that the little decorums of breeding were then, by no means, ſo carefully attended to as at preſent. One of her ſtewards having alledged that the inventory was defective, and that ſhe had ſecreted a part of her effects,

ſhe

ſhe fell into a violent paſſion, ſtarted from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him ſeveral blows on the face. Auguſtus ſmiled at her indignation, and leading her to the couch, deſired her to be pacified. To this ſhe replied, that ſhe could not bear being inſulted in the preſence of one whom ſhe ſo highly eſteemed. "And ſuppoſing," cried ſhe, "that I have ſecreted a few trifles, am I to blame, "when they are reſerved, not for myſelf, but for Li-"via and Octavia, whom I hope to make my inter-"ceſſors with you?" This excuſe, which intimated a deſire of living, was not diſagreeable to Auguſtus, who politely aſſured her, that ſhe was at liberty to keep whatever ſhe had reſerved, and that in every thing ſhe ſhould be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took leave, and departed; imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being ſhewn in the intended triumph, which he was preparing for his return to Rome: but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra, all this time, had kept a correſpondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth, in the camp of Auguſtus; who, perhaps from compaſſion, or ſtronger motives, was intereſted in her misfortunes: by him ſhe was ſecretly informed, that Auguſtus determined to ſend her off in three days, together with her children, to Rome, to grace his triumphant entry. She now, therefore, determined upon dying; ſhe now threw herſelf upon Antony's coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her proteſtations not to ſurvive him. Having bathed, and ordered a ſumptuous banquet, ſhe attired herſelf in the moſt ſplendid manner. She then feaſted, as uſual; and ſoon after ordered all but her two attendants, Charmion and Iras, to leave the room. Then, having previouſly ordered an aſp to be ſecretly conveyed to her in a baſket of fruit, ſhe ſent a letter to Auguſtus, informing him of her fatal purpoſe, and deſiring to be buried in the ſame tomb

with Antony. Auguſtus, upon receiving the letter, inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to ſtop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Near her, Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was ſtretched lifeleſs at the feet of her miſtreſs; and Charmion herſelf, almoſt expiring, was ſettling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the meſſengers, "was this well done, Charmion?" "Yes," replied ſhe, "it is well done; ſuch a death "becomes a glorious queen deſcended from a race "of noble anceſtors." On pronouncing theſe words ſhe fell down, and died with her much loved miſtreſs.

CHAP. XXII.

From the beginning of the reign of Auguſtus, to the death of Domitian, the laſt of the twelve Cæſars.

BY the death of Antony, Auguſtus was now become maſter of the Roman Empire. He ſoon after returned to Rome in triumph; where, by ſumptuous feaſts, and magnificent ſhows, he began to obliterate the impreſſions of his former cruelty; and from thenceforward, reſolved to ſecure by his clemency, a throne, the foundations of which were laid in blood. He was now at the head of the moſt extenſive empire that mankind had ever concurred in obeying. The former ſpirit of the Romans, and thoſe characteriſtic marks that diſtinguiſhed them from others, were totally loſt. The city was now inhabited by a concourſe from all the countries of the world; and being conſequently diveſted of all juſt patriotic principles, perhaps a monarchy was the beſt form of government that could be found to unite its

its members. However, it is very remarkable, that during theſe long contentions among themſelves, and thoſe horrid devaſtations by civil war, the ſtate was daily growing more formidable and powerful, and completed the deſtruction of all the kings who preſumed to oppoſe it.

His firſt care was to aſſure himſelf of the friends of Antony: to which end he publicly reported that he had burnt all Antony's letters and papers, without reading, convinced that, while any thought themſelves ſuſpected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendſhip.

As he had gained the kingdom by his army, ſo alſo he reſolved to govern it by the ſenate. This body, though greatly fallen from their ancient ſplendor, he knew to be the beſt ordered, and moſt capable of wiſdom and juſtice. To theſe, therefore, he gave the chief power in the adminiſtration of his government, while he ſtill kept the people and the army ſtedfaſt to him by donatives, and acts of favour. By theſe means all the odium of juſtice fell upon the ſenate, and all the popularity of pardon was ſolely his own. Thus reſtoring to the ſenate their ancient ſplendor, and diſcountenancing all corruption, he pretended to reſerve to himſelf a very moderate ſhare of authority, which none could refuſe him; namely, an abſolute power to compel all ranks of the ſtate to do their duty. This, in fact, was reſerving abſolute dominion in his own hands; but the miſguided people began to look upon his moderation with aſtoniſhment: they conſidered themſelves as reſtored to their former freedom, except in the capacity of promoting ſedition; and the ſenate ſuppoſed their power re-eſtabliſhed in all things but their tendency to injuſtice. It was even ſaid that the Romans, by ſuch a government, loſt nothing of the happineſs that liberty could produce; and were exempt from all the misfortunes it could occaſion. This obſervation

might have ſome truth under ſuch a monarch as Auguſtus now appeared to be; but they were taught to change their ſentiments under his ſucceſſors, when they found themſelves afflicted with all the puniſhments that tyranny could inflict, or ſedition make neceſſary.

After having eſtabliſhed this admirable order, Auguſtus found himſelf agitated by different inclinations; and conſidered a long time whether he ſhould keep the empire, or reſtore the people to their ancient liberty. But he adopted the advice of Mæcenas, who deſired him to continue in power, and was afterwards ſwayed by him, not only in this inſtance, but on every other occaſion. By the inſtructions of that miniſter, he became gentle, affable, and humane. By his advice it was that he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and his friendſhip. They in their turn relieved his moſt anxious hours, and circulated his praiſes through the empire.

Thus having given peace and happineſs to the empire, and being convinced of the attachment of all the orders of the ſtate to his perſon, he reſolved upon impreſſing the people with an idea of his magnanimity alſo. This was nothing leſs than making a ſhew of reſigning his authority; wherefore, having previouſly inſtructed his creatures in the ſenate how to act, he addreſſed them in a ſtudied ſpeech, importing the difficulty of governing ſo extenſive an empire: a taſk, which, he ſaid, none but the immortal gods were equal to. He modeſtly urged his own inability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it: and then, with a degree of ſeeming generoſity, freely gave up all that power, which, as he obſerved, his arms had gained, and the ſenate had confirmed. This power he repeatedly offered to reſtore, giving them to underſtand that the true ſpirit of the Romans was not loſt in him. This

ſpeech

ſpeech operated upon the ſenate variouſly, as they were more or leſs in the ſecret; many believed the ſincerity of his profeſſions, and therefore, regarded his conduct as an act of unequalled heroiſm by any thing that had hitherto appeared in Rome; others, equally ignorant of his motives, diſtruſted his deſigns. Some there were who, having greatly ſuffered during the late popular commotions, were fearful of having them renewed; but the majority, who were entirely devoted to his intereſts, and inſtructed by his miniſters, frequently attempted to interrupt him while ſpeaking, and received his propoſal with pretended indignation. Theſe unanimouſly beſought him not to reſign the adminiſtration; but upon his continuing to decline their requeſt, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his perſon might be in greater ſecurity, they immediately decreed the pay of his guard to be doubled. On the other hand, that he might ſeem to make ſome conceſſions on his ſide, he permitted the ſenate to govern the weak internal provinces of the empire, while the moſt powerful provinces, and thoſe that required the greateſt armies for their defence, were taken entirely under his own command. Over theſe he aſſumed the government but for ten years, leaving the people ſtill in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom: but, at the ſame time, laying his meaſures ſo well, that his government was renewed every ten years to his death.

This ſhew of a reſignation only ſerved to confirm him in the empire and the hearts of the people. New honours were heaped upon him. He was then firſt called Auguſtus; a name I have hitherto uſed as that by which he is beſt known in hiſtory. A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. His houſe was called the palace, to diſtinguiſh it from that of ordinary citizens. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his perſon declared ſacred and

and inviolable. In ſhort, flattery ſeemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleaſing him, but though he deſpiſed the arts of the ſenate, he permited their homage, well knowing that, among mankind, titles produce a reſpect which enforces authority.

Upon entering into his tenth conſulſhip, the ſenate, by oath, approved of all his acts, and ſet him wholly above the power of the laws. They ſome time after offered to ſwear to not only all the laws he had made, but ſuch as he ſhould make for the future. It was then cuſtomary with fathers upon their death beds, to command their children to carry oblations to the Capitol, with this inſcription, that at the day of their deaths they left Auguſtus in health. It was determined that no man ſhould be put to death on ſuch days as the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of proviſions, the people in a body entreated him to accept of the dictatorſhip; but, though he undertook to be procurator of the proviſions, he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been aboliſhed by a law made when Antony was conſul.

This accumulation of titles and employments, did not in the leaſt diminiſh his aſſiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholeſome edicts were paſſed by his command, tending to ſuppreſs corruption in the ſenate, and licentiouſneſs in the people. He ordained that none ſhould exhibit a ſhew of gladiators without orders from the ſenate, and then no oftener than twice a year; nor with more than a hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely neceſſary at ſo corrupt a period of the empire; when whole armies of theſe unfortunate men were brought at once upon the ſtage, and compelled to fight, often till half of them were ſlain. It had been uſual alſo with the knights, and ſome women of the firſt diſtinction, to exhibit themſelves as dancers

cers upon the theatre; he ordered that not only they, but their children and grand-children, ſhould be reſtrained from ſuch exerciſes for the future. He fined many that had refuſed to marry at a certain age; and rewarded ſuch as had many children. He ordained that virgins ſhould not be maried till twelve years of age; and permitted any perſon to kill an adulterer taken in the fact. He enacted that the ſenators ſhould be always held in great reverence; adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law that no man ſhould have the freedom of the city without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits to the manumiſſion of ſlaves; and was himſelf very ſtrict in the obſervance of them. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he ſeverely examined their morals, not allowing the leaſt licentiouſneſs in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exerciſes, yet he would not permit the women to be preſent at them; holding it unbecoming the modeſty of the ſex, to be ſpectators of theſe ſports, which were performed by naked men. In order to prevent bribery in ſuing for offices, he took conſiderable ſums of money from the candidates, by way of pledge; and if any indirect practices were proved againſt them, they were obliged to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto diſallowed to confeſs any thing againſt their own maſters; but he aboliſhed the practice, and firſt ſold the ſlave to another; which, altering the property, his examination became free. Theſe, and many other law, all tending to reform vice, or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the people another complexion; ſo that the rough character of the Roman was now ſoftened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow-citizens; for being placed above all equality,

equality, he had nothing to fear from condeſcenſion: wherefore he was familiar with all, and ſuffered himſelf to be reprimanded with the moſt patient humility. Though he was, by the ſingle authority of his ſtation, capable of condemning or acquitting whomſoever he thought proper, yet he gave the laws their proper courſe; and even ſometimes pleaded for thoſe he deſired to protect. Thus Primus, the governor of Macedonia, having a day aſſigned him for having made war upon the Odriſii, a neighbouring ſtate, as he ſaid, by the command of Auguſtus, the latter denied the charge. Upon which the advocate for Primus deſired to know, with an inſolent air, what brought Auguſtus into court, or who had ſent for him? To this the emperor ſubmiſſively replied, "the commonwealth;" an anſwer which greatly pleaſed the people. Upon another occaſion, one of his veteran ſoldiers intreated his protection in a certain cauſe; but Auguſtus taking little notice of his requeſt, deſired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah!" replied the ſoldier, "it was not by proxy, that I ſerv-"ed you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleaſed Auguſtus ſo much, that he pleaded his cauſe in perſon, and gained it for him. He was extremely affable, and returned the ſalutations of the meaneſt perſons. One day a perſon preſented him a petition, but with ſo much awe, that Auguſtus was diſpleaſed with his meanneſs. "What, friend," cried he, "you ſeem as if you were offering ſomething to an "elephant, and not to a man; be bolder." One day, as he was ſitting on the tribunal, in judgment, Mæcenas perceiving by his temper, that he was inclined to be ſevere, attempted to ſpeak to him; but not being able to get up to the tribunal, for the crowd, he threw a paper into his lap, on which was written, "ariſe, executioner." Auguſtus read it, without any diſpleaſure, and immediately riſing, pardoned thoſe whom he was diſpoſed to condemn.

But

But what more than all ſhewed a total alteration in his diſpoſition, was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandſon. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conſpiracy againſt him; but the plot was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution. Auguſtus, for ſome time, debated with himſelf how to act; but, at laſt, his clemency prevailed; he therefore ſent for thoſe who were guilty, and after reprimanding them, diſmiſſed them all. But he was reſolved to mortify Cinna by the greatneſs of his generoſity: for addreſſing him in particular, "I "have twice," ſays he, "given you your life; firſt, "as an enemy; now, as a conſpirator; I now give "you the conſulſhip: let us, therefore, be friends "for the future; and let us only contend in ſhew-"ing, whether my confidence, or your fidelity, "ſhall be victorious." This generoſity, which the emperor very happily timed, had ſo good an effect, that, from that inſtant, all conſpiracies ceaſed againſt him.

In the practice of ſuch virtues as theſe, he paſſed a long reign of above forty years, in which the happineſs of the people ſeemed to conſpire with his own: not but that there were wars, in the diſtant provinces of the empire, during almoſt the whole reign; but they were rather the quelling of inſurrections, than the extending of dominions; for he had made it a rule, to carry on no operations, in which ambition, and not the ſafety of the ſtate, was concerned. In fact, he ſeemed the firſt Roman, who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace alone; and who obtained the affections of the ſoldiers, without any military character of his own. Nevertheleſs, the Roman arms, under his lieutenants, were crowned with ſucceſs. The Cantabrians in Spain, who had revolted, were more than once quelled by Tiberius, his ſtep-ſon: Agrippa, his ſon-in-law; and Ælius Lama; who followed them

them to their inacceſſible mountains, there blocked them up, and compelled them, by famine, to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Germans alſo gave ſome uneaſineſs, by their repeated incurſions into the territories of Gaul, but were repreſſed by Lollius. The Rhetians were conquered by Druſus, the brother of Tiberius. The Beſſi, and Sialatæ, barbarous nations, making an irruption into Thrace, were overthrown by Piſo, governor of Pamphylia, who gained triumphal honours. The Dacians were repreſſed with more than one defeat; the Armenians were alſo brought into due ſubjection by Caius, his grandſon. The Getulians, in Africa, took up arms; but were ſubdued by the conſul, Caius Coſſus, who then received the ſurname of Getulicus. A dangerous war was alſo carried on againſt the Dalmatians and Pannonians; who having acquired great ſtrength, by the continuance of a long peace, gathered an army of two hundred thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, threatening Rome itſelf with deſtruction. Levies were therefore made in Italy with the utmoſt expedition; the veteran troops were recalled from all parts; and Auguſtus went to Arminium, for the greater convenience of giving his directions. And, indeed, though perſonal valour was by no means his moſt ſhining ornament, yet no man could give wiſer orders upon every emergency; or go with greater diſpatch into all parts of his dominions, than he. This war continued near three years; being principally managed by Tiberius and Germanicus; the latter of whom gained great reputation againſt theſe fierce and barbarous multitudes. Upon their reduction, Barro, their leader, being ſummoned before the tribunal of Tiberius, and being demanded how he could offer to revolt againſt the power of Rome, the bold barbarian replied, "That the "Romans, and not he, were the agreſſors; ſince

"they

"they had ſent inſtead of dogs and ſhepherds to "ſecure their flocks, only wolves and bears to de- "ſtroy them." But the war which was moſt fatal to the Roman intereſts during this reign, was that which was manage by Quintillius Varus. This general invading the territories of the Germans, was induced to follow the enemy among their foreſts and marſhes, with his army in ſeparate bodies: there he was attacked by night, and entirely cut off with his whole army. Theſe were the beſt and choiceſt legions of the whole empire, either for valour, diſcipline, or experience. The affliction, from this defeat, ſeemed to ſink very deep upon the mind of Auguſtus. He was often heard to cry out, in a tone of anguiſh, "Quintil- "lius Varus, reſtore me my legions;" and ſome hiſtorians pretend to ſay, that he never after recovered the former ſerenity of his temper. U. C. 752.

But he had ſome uneaſineſſes of a domeſtic nature, in his own family, that contributed to diſtreſs him: he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, by the conſent of her huſband, at a time ſhe was ſix months gone with child. This was an imperious woman; and conſcious of being beloved, ſhe controlled him ever after at her pleaſure. She had two ſons by her former huſband; Tiberius, the elder, whom ſhe greatly loved; and Druſus, who was born three months after ſhe had been married to Auguſtus, and who was thought to be his own ſon. The eldeſt of theſe, Tiberius, whom he afterwards adopted, and who ſucceeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a ſuſpicious and obſtinate temper; ſo that though he was ſerviceable to Auguſtus in his foreign wars, yet he gave him but little quiet at home. He was, at laſt, obliged to go into exile for five years to the iſland of Rhodes, where he chiefly ſpent his time in a retired manner, converſing with the Greeks, and addicting himſelf to literature;

ture; of which, however, he made afterwards but a bad uſe. Druſus, the other ſon of Livia, died in his return from an expedition againſt the Germans, leaving Auguſtus inconſolable for his loſs. But his greateſt affliction was, the conduct of his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, his former wife. This woman, whom he married to his general Agrippa, and after his death to Tiberius, ſet no bounds to her lewdneſs. Not contented with enjoying her pleaſures, ſhe ſeemed alſo earneſt in procuring the infamy of her proſtitutions. Auguſtus, for a long time, would not believe the accounts he daily heard of her conduct; but, at laſt, could not help obſerving them. He found ſhe was arrived at that exceſs of wantonneſs and prodigality, that ſhe had her nocturnal appointments in the moſt public parts of the city; the very court where her father preſided, not being exempt from her debaucheries. He, at firſt had thoughts of putting her to death; but after, ſome conſideration, he baniſhed her to Panditaria, forbidding her the uſe of wine, and all ſuch delicacies, as could inflame her vicious inclinations: he ordered alſo, that no perſons ſhould come near her, without his own permiſſion; and ſent her mother Scribonia, with her, to bear her company. Afterwards, whenever any attempted to intercede for Julia, his anſwer was, "that fire and water ſhould ſooner unite, than "he with her." When ſome perſons, one day, were more than uſually urgent with him in her favour, he was driven to ſuch an extremity of paſſion, as to wiſh, that they might have ſuch a daughter. However, ſhe had two ſons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius, from whom great expectations were formed; but they died when ſcarcely arrived at man's eſtate; Lucius about five years after his father, at Marſeilles; and Caius, two years after. Auguſtus having now, in a great meaſure, ſurvived all his co-temporaries, at length, in the ſeventy-fourth

year

year of his age, began to think of retiring from the fatigues of ſtate; and in ſome meaſure, of conſtituting Tiberius, his ſon-in-law by Livia, his ſucceſſor, in his uſual employments. He deſired the ſenate to ſalute him no longer at the palace according to cuſtom; not to take it amiſs, if for the future, he could not converſe with them as formerly. From that time, Tiberius was joined in the government of the provinces with him, and inveſted with almoſt the ſame authority. However, Auguſtus could not entirely forſake the adminiſtration of the ſtate, which habit had mixed with his ſatisfactions; he ſtill continued a watchful guardian of its intereſts, and ſhewed himſelf, to the laſt, a lover of his people. Finding it now, therefore, very inconvenient to come to the ſenate, by reaſon of his age, he deſired to have twenty privy-counſellors aſſigned him for a year; and it was decreed, that whatever meaſures were reſolved upon by them, together with the conſuls, they ſhould entirely have the force of a law. He ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, apprehenſive of his approaching end, for he made his will, and delivered it to the veſtal virgins. He then ſolemnized the cenſus, or numbering the people, whom he found to amount to four millions, one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand; which ſhews Rome to be equal to four of the greateſt cities of modern times. While theſe ceremonies were performing, by a mighty concourſe of people in the Campus Martius, it is ſaid, that an eagle flew round the emperor ſeveral times, and directing its flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa: which was by the Augurs conceived to portend the death of the emperor. Shortly after, having accompanied Tiberius in his march into Illyria, as far as Beneventum, he was there taken ill of a diarrhœa. Returning therefore, from thence, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there finding himſelf U. C. 766.

ſelf dangerouſly ill, he ſent for Tiberius, with the reſt of his moſt intimate friends and acquaintance. A few hours before his death, he ordered a looking-glaſs to be brought, and his hair to be adjuſted with more than uſual care. He then addreſſed his friends, whom he beheld ſurrounding his bed, and deſired to know whether he had properly played his part in life: to which being anſwered in the affirmative, he cried out, with his laſt breath, "then give me your applauſe;" and thus, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired in the arms of Livia, bidding her remember their marriage and farewel.

The death of the emperor, when known, cauſed inexpreſſible grief throughout the whole Roman empire; it was even ſuppoſed that his wife Livia had ſome hand in haſtening it, willing to procure the ſucceſſion more ſpeedily for her ſon. However this be, ſhe took care, for ſome time, to keep it concealed, having guarded all the paſſages to the palace; ſometimes giving out that he was recovered, and pretending a relapſe. At length, having ſettled the ſucceſſion to her mind, ſhe publiſhed the emperor's death, and at the ſame time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire. The emperor's funeral was performed with great magnificence. The ſenators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care was devolved, began a conſolatory oration to them; but ſuddenly ſtopt in the beginning of his ſpeech, as unable to reſtrain the violence of his ſorrow; and, inſtead of continuing, gave his notes to Druſus, his ſon, who read them to the ſenate. After this, one of the late emperor's freedmen, publicly read his will in the ſenate-houſe, wherein he made Tiberius and Livia, his heirs; and by that Livia was likewiſe adopted into the Julian family, and honoured with the name of Auguſta. Beſides his will, four other writings of his were produced. One, in which he had

had left inſtructions concerning his funeral; another, containing an enumeration of his ſeveral exploits; a third, compriſing an account of the provinces, forces, and revenues of the empire; and the fourth, a ſchedule of directions to Tiberius for governing the empire. Among theſe, it was found to be his opinion, that no man, how great a favourite ſoever he might be, ſhould be entruſted with too much authority, leſt it ſhould induce him to turn tyrant. Another maxim was, that none ſhould deſire to enlarge the empire, which was already preſerved with difficulty. Thus he ſeemed ſtudious of ſerving his country to the very laſt, and the ſorrow of the people, ſeemed equal to his aſſiduity. It was decreed, that all the women ſhould mourn for him a whole year. Temples were erected to him; divine honours were allowed him; and one Numerius Atticus, a ſenator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large ſum of money, for ſwearing that he ſaw him aſcending into heaven; ſo that no doubt remained among the people concerning his divinity.

Such were the honours paid to Auguſtus, whoſe power began in the ſlaughter, and terminated in the happineſs of his people; ſo that it was ſaid of him, "that it had been good for mankind if he had never "been born, or if he never had died." It it is very probable, that the cruelties exerciſed in his triumvirate were ſuggeſted by his colleagues; or, perhaps, he thought in the caſe of Cæſar's death, that revenge was virtue. Certain it is, that theſe ſeverities were in ſome meaſure, neceſſary to reſtore public tranquility; for until the Roman ſpirit was entirely eradicated, no monarchy could be ſecure. He gave the government an air ſuited to the diſpoſition of the times; he indulged his ſubjects in the pride of ſeeing the appearance of a republic, while he made them really happy in the effects of a moſt abſolute monarchy,

narchy, guided by the moſt conſummate prudence. In this laſt virtue he ſeemed to have excelled moſt monarchs; and, indeed, could we ſeparate Octavius from Auguſtus, he would be one of the moſt faultleſs princes in hiſtory.

U. C. 765. A. D. 15. Tiberius was fifty-ſix years old when he took upon him the government of the Roman empire. He had long lived in a profound ſtate of diſſimulation under Auguſtus, and was not yet hardy enough to ſhew himſelf in his real character. In the beginning of his reign nothing appeared but prudence, generoſity, and clemency. But the ſucceſſes of Germanicus, his nephew, over the Germans, firſt brought his natural diſpoſitions to light, and diſcovered the malignity of his mind without diſguiſe. He ſoon, therefore, began to conſult on the moſt ſpecious means of humbling the popularity of Germanicus, and removing this object of his ſuſpicions. For this purpoſe he diſpatched Piſo to Germanicus, a perſon of a furious and headſtrong temper; and, in every reſpect, fit to execute thoſe fatal purpoſes for which he was deſigned. His inſtructions were to oppoſe Germanicus upon every occaſion; and to excite all the hatred againſt him, which, without ſuſpicion, he could; and even to procure his death, if an opportunity ſhould offer. This agent ſucceeded, Germanicus died ſoon after, and, as it was univerſally believed, by poiſon.

Having now no object of jealouſy to keep him in awe, he began to pull off the maſk entirely, and appear more in his natural character than before. In the beginning of his cruelties, he took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his confidence, by the moſt refined degree of diſſimulation, being an overmatch for his maſter in his own arts. It is not well known whether he was the adviſer of all the cruelties that enſued

ſued ſoon after; but certain it is, that, from the beginning of his miniſtry, Tiberius ſeemed to become more fatally ſuſpicious.

Sejanus began by uſing all his addreſs to perſuade Tiberius to retire to ſome agreeable retreat, remote from Rome. By this he expected many advantages, ſince there could be no acceſs to the emperor but by him. The emperor, either prevailed upon by his perſuaſions, or purſuing the natural turn of his temper, which led to indolence and debauchery, in the twelfth year of his reign left Rome, and went into Campania, under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Auguſtus. Still growing weary of places where mankind might follow him with their complaints and diſtreſſes, he withdrew himſelf into that moſt delightful iſland of Caprea, three miles from the continent, and oppoſite Naples. Buried in this retreat, he gave himſelf up to his abandoned pleaſures, quite regardleſs of the miſeries of his ſubjects.

In fact, it had been happy for mankind, had he given up his ſuſpicions, when he declined the fatigues of reigning, and reſigned the will to do harm, when he diveſted himſelf of the power of doing good. But from the time of his retreat, he became more cruel, and Sejanus always endeavoured to encreaſe his diſtruſts. Secret ſpies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the moſt harmleſs actions into ſubjects of offence.

In conſequence of this, Nero, and Druſus, the children of Germanicus, were declared enemies to the ſtate, and afterwards ſtarved to death in priſon, while Agrippina, their mother, was ſent into baniſhment. Sabinus, Aſinius Gallus, and Syriacus, were, upon ſlight pretences, condemned and executed. In this manner, Sejanus preceeded, removing all who ſtood between him and the empire, and every day encreaſing in confidence with Tiberius, and

power

power with the ſenate. The number of his ſtatues exceeded even thoſe of the emperor; people ſwore by his fortune, in the ſame manner as they would have done, had he been actually upon the throne, and he was more dreaded than even the tyrant who actually enjoyed the empire. But the rapidity of his riſe ſeemed only preparatory to the greatneſs of his downfall. All we know of his firſt diſgrace with the emperor is, that Satrius Secundus was the man who had the boldneſs to accuſe him of treaſon, and Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, ſeconded the accuſation. The ſenate, who had long been jealous of his power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond the orders of Tiberius, and inſtead of ſentencing him to impriſonment, they directed his execution. As he was conducting to his fate, the people loaded him with inſult and execration. He was purſued with ſarcaſtic reproaches, his ſtatues were inſtantly thrown down, and he himſelf ſhortly after, ſtrangled by the executioner.

His death only lighted up the emperor's rage for further executions. Plancina, the wife of Piſo, Sextus Veſtilius, Veſcularius Atticus, and Julius Marinus, were executed by his command for being attached to Sejanus. He began to grow weary of particular executions, and gave orders, that all the accuſed ſhould be put to death together, without farther examination. The whole city was filled with ſlaughter and mourning. When one Carnulius had killed himſelf to avoid the torture: "Ah," cried Tiberius, "how has that man been able to eſcape "me!" When a priſoner earneſtly entreated, that he would not defer his death: "No," cried the tyrant, "I am not ſufficiently your friend, to ſhor-"en your torments."

In this manner he lived, odious to all the world, and troubleſome to himſelf; an enemy to the lives of others,

others, and a tormentor of his own. At length, in the twenty-second year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his diſſolution, and all his appetites totally to forſake him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a ſucceſſor, and, at length, fixed upon Caligula; willing perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, with which he was well acquainted, to cover the memory of his own.

Still, however, he ſeemed willing to avoid his end; and ſtrove, by change of place, to put off the inquietude of his own reflections. He left his favourite iſland, and went upon the continent; and at laſt fixed at the promontory of Miſenum, in a houſe that formerly had belonged to Lucullus. It was there that he fell into ſuch faintings, as all believed were fatal. Caligula, ſuppoſing him actually dead, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged by the prætorian ſoldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment amidſt the applauſes of the multitude; when all of a ſudden he was informed that the emperor was recovered, that he had began to ſpeak, and deſired to eat. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and alarm: every one who had before been earneſt in teſtifying their joy, now re-aſſumed their pretended ſorrow, and left the new emperor, through a feigned ſolicitude for the fate of the old. Caligula ſeemed thunderſtruck; he preſerved a gloomy ſilence, expecting nothing but death, inſtead of the empire at which he had aſpired. Macro, however, who was hardened in crimes, ordered, that the dying emperor ſhould be diſpatched, by ſmothering him with pillows, or, as others will have it, by poiſon. In this manner Tiberius died in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, after reigning twenty two. U. C. 790. A. D. 39.

It

It was in the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign, that Chriſt was crucified; as if the univerſal depravity of mankind wanted no leſs a ſacrifice than that of God himſelf, to reclaim them. Shortly after his death, Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of his paſſion, reſurrection, and miracles; upon which the emperor made a report of the whole to the ſenate, deſiring that Chriſt might be accounted a God by the Romans. But the ſenate being diſpleaſed that the propoſal had not come firſt from themſelves, refuſed to allow his apotheoſis; alledging an ancient law, which gave them the ſuperintendence in all matters of religion. They even went ſo far, as, by an edict, to command, that all Chriſtians ſhould leave the city; but Tiberius, by another edict, threatened death to ſuch as ſhould accuſe them; by which means, they continued unmoleſted during the reſt of his reign.

All the enormities of Caligula were concealed in the beginning of his reign. But it had been happy for him and the empire, had ſuch a beginning been as ſtrenuouſly maintained. In leſs than eight months all appearance of moderation and clemency vaniſhed; while furious paſſions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty, began to take their turn in his mind. Pride, impiety, luſt, avarice, and all in the extreme, were every moment brought forward.

His pride firſt began by aſſuming to himſelf the title of ruler, which was uſually granted only to kings. He would alſo have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been adviſed, that he was already ſuperior to all the monarchs of the world. Not long after, he aſſumed divine honours, and gave himſelf the names of ſuch divinities as he thought moſt agreeable to his nature. For this purpoſe he cauſed the heads of the ſtatues of Jupiter and ſome other gods to be ſtruck off, and his own to be put in their places.

He

He frequently ſeated himſelf between Caſtor and Pollux, and ordered that all who came to their temple to worſhip, ſhould pay their adorations only to him. However, ſuch was the extravagant inconſtancy of this unaccountable idiot, that he changed his divinity as often as he changed his clothes; being at one time a male deity, at another a female; ſometimes Jupiter or Mars, and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity, in which his ſtatue of gold was every day dreſt in ſimilar robes to thoſe which he himſelf wore, and was worſhipped by crowds of adorers. His prieſts were numerous, the ſacrifices made to him were of the moſt exquiſite delicacies that could be procured, and the dignity of the prieſthood was ſought by the moſt opulent men of the city. However, he admitted his wife and his horſe to that honour; and, to give a finiſhing ſtroke to his abſurdities, he became a prieſt to himſelf. His method of aſſuming the manners of a deity was not leſs ridiculous: He often went out in the full moon, and courted it in the ſtile of a lover. He often invited it to his bed, to taſte the pleaſures of his embraces. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out, with a ſpeech of Homer, "Do you con-"quer me, or I will conquer you." He frequently pretended to converſe in whiſpers with the ſtatue of Jupiter, and uſually ſeemed angry at its replies, threatening to ſend it packing into Greece. Sometimes, however, he would aſſume a better temper, and ſeemed contented that they two ſhould dwell together in amity.

Of all his vices, his prodigality was the moſt remarkable, and that which in ſome meaſure gave riſe to the reſt. The luxuries of former emperors were ſimplicity itſelf, when compared to thoſe which he practiſed. He contrived new ways of bathing, where

the richeſt oils and moſt precious perfumes were exhauſted with the utmoſt profuſion. He found out diſhes of immenſe value, and had even jewels, as we are told, diſſolved among his ſauces. He, ſometimes, had ſervices of pure gold preſented before his gueſts inſtead of meat, obſerving, that a man ought to be an œconomiſt or an emperor.

The expenſive manner in which he maintained his horſe will give ſome idea of his domeſtic œconomy. He built it a ſtable of marble, and a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called Incitatus, was to run, he placed centinels near its ſtable, the night preceding, to prevent its ſlumbers from being broken. He appointed an houſe, furniture, and a kitchen, in order to treat all its viſitors with proper reſpect. The emperor ſometimes invited Incitatus, to his own table, preſented it with gilt oats, and wine in a golden cup. He often ſwore by the ſafety of his horſe; and it is ſaid he would have appointed it to the conſulſhip, had not his death prevented.

His impiety was but ſubordinate to his cruelties. He ſlew many of the ſenate, and afterwards cited them to appear as if they had killed themſelves. He caſt great numbers of old and infirm men and poor decrepid houſekeepers to wild beaſts, to free the ſtate from ſuch unſerviceable citizens. He uſually fed his wild beaſts with the bodies of thoſe wretches whom he condemned; and every tenth day, ſent off numbers of them to be thus devoured; which he jocoſely called, clearing his accounts. One of thoſe who was thus expoſed, crying out, that he was innocent, Caligula ordered his tongue to be cut out, and then thrown into the amphitheatre as before. He took delight in killing men with ſlow tortures, that, as he expreſt it, they might feel themſelves dying; being always preſent at ſuch executions, himſelf directing the duration of the puniſhment, and mitigating the

tortures,

tortures, merely to prolong them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than his unrelenting temper, and inflexible severity which he preserved while presiding at an execution. At one time, being incensed at the citizens of Rome, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck, that he might dispatch them at a blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties produced many secret conspiracies against him; but these were for awhile deferred, upon account of his intended expeditions against the Germans and Britons, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. For this purpose, he caused numerous levies to be made in all parts of the empire, and talked with so much resolution, that it was universally believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper; sometimes it was so rapid that the cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times it was so slow, that it more resembled a pompous procession than a military expedition. In this disposition he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and ordered all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered, to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain, he only gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this he described in his letter to the senate, as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea shore, in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing up his men in order of battle, he went on board his galley, with which coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given as if for an engagement; upon which his men, having had previous orders, immediately fell

U. C. 793. A.D. 41.

to gather the ſhells that lay upon the ſhore into their helmets, terming them the ſpoils of the conquered ocean, worthy the palace and the Capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together, as a general after victory, he harangued them in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their atchievements; and then diſtributing money among them, diſmiſſed them with orders to be joyful, and congratulated them upon their riches. But that ſuch exploits ſhould not paſs without a memorial, he cauſed a lofty tower to be erected by the ſea-ſide, and ordered the gallies in which he had put to ſea, to be conveyed to Rome, in a great meaſure, by land.

Caſſius Cherea, tribune of the prætorian bands, was the perſon who at laſt freed the world of this tyrant. Beſides the motives which he had in common with other men, he had received repeated inſults from Caligula, who took all occaſions of turning him into ridicule, and impeaching him of cowardice, merely becauſe he happened to have an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came to demand the watch-word from the emperor, according to cuſtom, he always gave him either Venus, Adonis, or ſome ſuch, implying effeminacy and ſoftneſs. He, therefore, ſecretly imparted his deſigns to ſeveral ſenators and knights, whom he knew to have received perſonal injuries from Caligula; among whom was Valerius Aſiaticus, whoſe wife the emperor had debauched. Annius Vinicianus alſo, was deſirous of engaging in the firſt deſign that offered. Beſides theſe, were Clemens, the præfect; and Caliſtus, whoſe riches made him obnoxious to the tyrant's reſentment.

While theſe were deliberating upon the moſt certain and ſpeedy method of deſtroying the tyrant, an unexpected incident gave new ſtrength to the conſpiracy. Pompedius, a ſenator of diſtinction, having

ing been accuſed before the emperor, of having ſpoken of him with diſreſpect, the informer cited one Quintilia, an actreſs, to confirm his accuſation. Quintilia, however, was poſſeſt of a degree of fortitude not eaſily found, even in the other ſex. She denied the fact with obſtinacy; and being put to the torture, at the informer's requeſt, ſhe bore the ſevereſt torments of the rack with unſhaken conſtancy. But what was moſt remarkable of her reſolution is that ſhe was acquainted with all the particulars of the conſpiracy: and, although Cherea was the perſon appointed to preſide at her torture, ſhe revealed nothing: on the contrary, when ſhe was led to the rack, ſhe trod upon the toe of one of the conſpirators, intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own reſolution not to divulge it. In this manner ſhe ſuffered, until all her limbs were diſlocated; and in that deplorable ſtate, was preſented to the emperor, who ordered her a gratuity for what ſhe had ſuffered. Cherea could no longer contain his indignation, at being thus made the inſtrument of a tyrant's cruelty. After ſeveral deliberations with the conſpirators, it was at laſt reſolved to attack him during the continuance of the Palatine games, which laſted four days, and to ſtrike the blow when his guards ſhould have the leaſt opportunity of defending him. In conſequence of this, the three firſt days of the games paſſed without affording any opportunity. Cherea now, therefore, began to apprehend, that deferring the time of the conſpiracy, might be a means of divulging it: he even began to dread, that the honour of killing the tyrant might fall to the lot of ſome other perſon, more bold than himſelf. Wherefore, he at laſt reſolved, to defer the execution of his plot only to the day following, when Caligula ſhould paſs through a private gallery, to ſome baths, not far diſtant from the palace.

The laſt day of the games was more ſplendid than the reſt; and Caligula ſeemed more ſprightly and condeſcending than uſual. He took great amuſement in ſeeing the people ſcramble for the fruits, and other rarities, thrown, by his order, among them; and ſeemed no way apprehenſive of the plot formed for his deſtruction. In the mean time, the conſpiracy began to tranſpire; and, had he had any friends left, it could not fail of being diſcovered. A ſenator, who was preſent, aſking one of his acquaintance if he had heard any thing new, the other replying in the negative, "then you muſt know," ſays he, "that this day will be repreſented the death "of a tyrant." The other immediately underſtood him, but deſired him to be more cautious how he divulged a ſecret of ſo much importance. The conſpirators waited a great part of the day with the moſt extreme anxiety; and, at one time, Caligula ſeemed reſolved to ſpend the whole day without any refreſhment. This unexpected delay entirely exaſperated Cherea; and, had he not been reſtrained, he would have gone and perpetrated his deſign in the midſt of all the people. Juſt at that inſtant, while he was yet heſitating what he ſhould do, Aſprenas, one of the conſpirators, perſuaded Caligula to go to the bath, and take ſome ſlight refreſhment, in order to enjoy the reſt of the entertainment with greater reliſh. The emperor, therefore, riſing up, the conſpirators uſed every precaution to keep off the throng, and to ſurround him, under pretence of greater aſſiduity. And theſe, upon his entering into a little vaulted gallery that led from the theatre to the bath, reſolved to diſpatch him. Cherea firſt ſtruck him to the ground with his dagger, crying out, "Tyrant, "think upon this." Immediately after, the other conſpirators ruſhed in; and, while the emperor continued to reſiſt, crying out, that he was not yet dead, they diſpatched him with thirty wounds.

Such

Such was the merited death of Caius Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three years, ten months, and eight days. It will be unneceſſary to add any thing more to his character, than what Seneca ſays of him: namely, that nature ſeemed to have brought him forth, to ſhew what was poſſible to be produced, from the greateſt vice, ſupported by the greateſt authority.

As ſoon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greateſt confuſion in all parts of the city. The conſpirators, who only aimed at deſtroying a tyrant, without attending to a ſucceſſor, had all ſought ſafety, by retiring to private places. Some ſoldiers happening to run about the palace, diſcovered Claudius, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a ſecret place, where he had hid himſelf through fear. Of this perſonage, who had hitherto been deſpiſed for his imbecility, they reſolved to make an emperor; and accordingly carried him upon their ſhoulders to the camp, where they proclaimed him, at a time he expected nothing but death, and the ſenate confirmed their choice. U. C. 794. A. D. 42.

Claudius was now fifty years old, when he began to reign. The complicated diſeaſes of his infancy, had, in ſome meaſure affected all the faculties both of his body and mind. He was continued in a ſtate of pupilage much longer than was uſual at that time; and ſeemed, in every part of life, incapable of conducting himſelf.

The commencement of his reign, as it was with all the other bad emperors, gave the moſt promiſing hopes of an happy continuance. He began by paſſing an act of oblivion for all former words and actions, and diſannulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He ſhewed himſelf more moderate than his predeceſſors with regard to titles and honours. He forbad all perſons upon ſevere penalties, to ſacrifice

to him, as they had done to Caligula. He was aſſiduous in hearing and examining complaints; and frequently adminiſtered juſtice in perſon; tempering by his mildneſs, the ſeverity of ſtrict juſtice.

To his ſolicitude for the internal advantages of the ſtate, he added that of a watchful guardianſhip over the provinces. He reſtored Judea to Herod Agrippa, which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipas, his uncle, the man who had put John the Baptiſt to death, and who was baniſhed by order of the preſent emperor. Claudius alſo reſtored ſuch princes to their kingdoms, as had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed by his predeceſſors; but deprived the Lycians and Rhodians of their liberty, for having promoted inſurrections, and crucified ſome citizens of Rome.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conqueſt. The Britons, who had, for near an hundred years, been left in ſole poſſeſſion of their own iſland, began to ſeek the mediation of Rome, to quell their inteſtine commotions. The principal man, who deſired to ſubject his native country to the Roman dominion, was one Bericus, who, by many arguments, perſuaded the emperor to make a deſcent upon the iſland, magnifying the advantages that would attend the conqueſt of it. In purſuance of his advice, therefore, Plautius the prætor, was ordered to paſs over into Gaul, and make preparations for this great expedition. At firſt, indeed, his ſoldiers ſeemed backward to embark, declaring that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world, for ſo they judged Britain to be. However, they were at laſt perſuaded to go; and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were ſeveral times overthrown.

A. D. 46. Theſe ſucceſſes ſoon after induced Claudius to go into Britain in perſon, upon pretence that the natives were ſtill ſeditious, and had not

not delivered up ſome Roman fugitives, who had taken ſhelter among them. However, his expedition ſeemed rather calculated for ſhew than ſervice; the time he continued in Britain, which was in all but ſixteen days, was more taken up in receiving homage, than extending his conqueſts. Great rejoicings were made upon his return to Rome: the ſenate decreed him a ſplendid triumph, triumphal arches were erected to his honour, and annual games inſtituted to commemorate his victories. In the mean time, the war was vigorouſly proſecuted by Plautius and his lieutenant Veſpaſian, who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and by that means reduced a part of the iſland into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afreſh under the government of Oſtorius, who ſucceeded Plautius. The A. D. 51. Britons, either deſpiſing him for want of experience, or hoping to gain advantages over a perſon newly come to command, roſe up in arms, and diſclaimed the Roman power. The Iceni, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, made a powerful reſiſtance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the moſt formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often ſeemed to claim a doubtful victory. He, with great conduct, removed the ſeat of war into the moſt inacceſſible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarms.

This general, however, upon the approach of Oſtorius, finding himſelf obliged to come to a deciſive engagement, addreſſed his countrymen with calm reſolution; telling them, that this battle would either eſtabliſh their liberty, or confirm their ſervitude: that they ought to remember the bravery of their anceſtors, by whoſe valour they were delivered from

from taxes and tributes, and that this was the time to ſhew themſelves equal to their progenitors. Nothing, however, that undiſciplined valour could perform, could avail againſt the conduct of the Roman legions. After an obſtinate fight, the Britons were entirely routed; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners; and he himſelf ſeeking refuge from Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherouſly delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome, nothing could exceed the curioſity of the people, to behold a man who had, for ſo many years, braved the power of the empire. On his part, he teſtified no marks of baſe dejection; but, as he was led through the ſtreets, happening to obſerve the ſplendor of every object around him; "Alas," cried he, "how is it poſſible, that people "poſſeſſed of ſuch magnificence at home, could "think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in "Britain!" When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives ſued for pity, with the moſt abject lamentations, Caractacus ſtood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and ſeemed rather willing to accept of pardon, than meanly ſolicitous of ſuing for it. "If," cried he, towards the end of his ſpeech, "I had yielded immediately, and with-"out oppoſition, neither my fortune would have "been remarkable, nor your glory memorable: you "would have ceaſed to be victorious, and I had been "forgotten. If now, therefore, you ſpare my life, "I ſhall continue a perpetual example of your cle-"mency." Claudius had the generoſity to pardon him, and Oſtorius was decreed a triumph, which, however, he did not live to enjoy.

Claudius gave in the beginning of his reign the higheſt hopes of an happy continuance; but he ſoon began to leſſen his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This weak prince had from his infancy been in a ſtate

of

of pupilage; and now, when called to govern, he was unable to act but under the direction of others. The chief of his inſtructors was his wife, Meſſalina, whoſe name is almoſt become a common appellation for women of abandoned characters.

By her was Claudius urged on to commit cruelties which he conſidered only as wholeſome ſeverities, while her debaucheries became every day more notorious, and her lewdneſs exceeded what had ever been ſeen in Rome. Her crimes and enormities, however, being at length diſcovered, ſhe, together with her paramour, Caius Silius, ſuffered that death they ſo juſtly deſerved.

Claudius took for his ſecond wife Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus, a woman of a cruel and ambitious ſpirit, whoſe whole aim being to procure the ſucceſſion for Nero her ſon, by a former marriage, treated Claudius with ſuch haughtineſs, that he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to ſuffer the diſorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expreſſion ſunk deep on her mind, and engaged all her faculties to prevent the blow. She, therefore, reſolved not to defer a crime which ſhe had meditated a long while before; which was, to poiſon him. She for ſome time, however, debated with herſelf in what manner ſhe ſhould adminiſter the poiſon; as ſhe feared too ſtrong a doſe would diſcover her treachery, and one too weak might fail of its effect. At length ſhe determined upon a poiſon of ſingular efficacy to deſtroy his intellects, and yet not ſuddenly to terminate his life. As ſhe had been long converſant in this horrid practice, ſhe applied to a woman called Locuſta, notorious for aſſiſting on ſuch occaſions. The poiſon was given the emperor among muſhrooms, a diſh he was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten, he dropped down inſenſible; but this cauſed no alarm, as it was uſual with him

him to ſit eating till he had ſtupified all his faculties, and was obliged to be carried off to his bed from the table. However, his conſtitution ſeemed to overcome the effects of the potion, when Agrippina reſolved to make ſure of him; wherefore ſhe directed a wretched phyſician, who was her creature, to thruſt a poiſoned feather down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit, and this diſpatched him.

U. C. 793. A. D. 55. Nero, though but ſeventeen years of age, began his reign with the general approbation of mankind. He appeared juſt, liberal, and humane: when a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be ſigned, he was heard to cry out, with ſeeming concern, "Would to heaven that I had never learned "to write!"

But as he increaſed in years, his crimes ſeemed to increaſe in equal proportion. The execution of his own mother Agrippina was the firſt alarming inſtance he gave of his cruelty. Having attempted to get her drowned at ſea, failing in this, he ordered her to be put to death in her palace; and coming in perſon to gaze upon the dead body, was heard to ſay, that he never thought his mother had been ſo handſome.

All the bounds of virtue being thus broken down, Nero now gave a looſe to his appetites, that were not only ſordid, but inhumane. There ſeemed an odd contraſt in his diſpoſition; for while he practiſed cruelties, which were ſufficient to make the mind ſhudder with horror, he was fond of thoſe amuſing arts that ſoften and refine the heart. He was particularly addicted, even from childhood, to muſic, and not totally ignorant of poetry; but chariot-driving was his favourite purſuit; and all theſe he frequently was ſeen to exhibit in public.

But

But it had been happy for mankind, had he confined himſelf to theſe; and contented with being contemptible, ſought not to become formidable alſo. His cruelties even outdid all his other extravagancies. He ſeemed even ſtudious of finding out pleaſure as well as crimes againſt nature. Being attired in the habit of a woman, and covered with a yellow veil like a bride, he was wedded with one of his abominable companions, called Pythagoras, and again to his freeman Deriphorus. On the other hand, that he might be every way deteſtable, he became the huſband of a youth called Sporus, whom he had previouſly deprived of the marks of virility. A great part of the city of Rome was conſumed by fire in his time, and moſt hiſtorians aſcribe the conflagration to him. It is ſaid, that he ſtood upon an high tower, during the continuance of the flames, enjoying the ſight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, ſome verſes upon the deſtruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occaſion, none were permitted to lend any aſſiſtance towards extinguiſhing the flames; and ſeveral perſons were ſeen ſetting fire to the houſes, alledging, that they had orders for ſo doing. However this be, the emperor uſed every art to throw the odium of ſo deteſtable an action from himſelf, and to fix it upon the Chriſtians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the perſecution raiſed againſt them upon this falſe accuſation. Some were covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and, in that figure, devoured by dogs. Some were crucified; and others burnt alive. "When the day was not ſufficient for "their tortures, the flames in which they periſhed," ſays Tacitus, "ſerved to illuminate the night," while Nero, dreſſed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himſelf with their tortures from his gardens; and

and entertained the people, at one time with their ſufferings, at another with the games of the circus. In this perſecution St. Paul was beheaded; and St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which death he choſe, as being more diſhonourable than that of his divine maſter.

A conſpiracy formed againſt Nero and Piſo, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely diſcovered, opened a new train of ſuſpicion that deſtroyed many of the principal families in Rome. The two moſt remarkable perſonages who fell on this occaſion were Seneca the philoſopher, and Lucan the poet, who was his nephew. Nero, either having real teſtimony againſt him, or elſe hating him for his virtues, ſent a tribune to Seneca, informing him that he was ſuſpected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philoſopher at table with Paulina his wife, and informing him of his buſineſs, Seneca replied without any emotion, that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had never been accuſtomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do it now. When this anſwer was brought to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca ſeemed afraid to die; the tribune replying that he did not appear in the leaſt terrified; "Then go to him again, cried the emperor, "and give him my orders to die." Accordingly, he ſent a centurion to Seneca, ſignifying that it was the emperor's pleaſure that he ſhould die. Seneca ſeemed no way diſcompoſed; and was not unmindful of his conſtancy. He endeavoured to conſole his wife for his loſs, and exhort her to a life of perſevering virtue. But ſhe ſeemed reſolved on not ſurviving him, and preſt her requeſt to die with him ſo earneſtly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at laſt gave his conſent, and the veins of both their arms were opened at the ſame time.

time. As Seneca was old, and much enfeebled by the auſterities of his life, the blood flowed but ſlowly, ſo that he cauſed the veins of his legs and highs to be opened alſo. His pains were long and violent, but they were not capable of repreſſing his fortitude or his eloquence. He dictated a diſcourſe to two ſecretaries, which was read with great avidity after his death by the people, but which has ſince periſhed in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length, he at laſt demanded poiſon from his phyſician; but this alſo failed of its effect, his body being already exhauſted, and incapable of exciting its operation. He was from this carried into a warm bath, which only ſerved to prolong his end; at length, therefore, he was put into a dry ſtove, the vapour of which quickly diſpatched him. In the mean time, his wife Paulina, having fallen into a ſwoon with the loſs of blood, had her arms bound up by her domeſtics, and by this means ſurvived her huſband for ſome years; but by her conduct during the reſt of her life, ſhe ſeemed always mindful of her own love and his example.

The death of Lucan was not leſs remarkable. The veins of his arms being opened, after he had loſt a great quantity of blood, perceiving his hands and legs already dead, while the vital parts ſtill continued warm and vigorous, he called to mind a deſcription in his own poem of the Pharſalia, of a perſon dying in ſimilar circumſtances, and expired while he was repeating that beautiful paſſage:

" Nec ſicut vulnere ſanguis
" Emicuit lentus. Ruptis cadit undique venis
" ——Pars ultima trunci
" Tradidit in cetum vacuos vitalibus artus,
" At tumidos qua pulmo jacet qua viſcera fervent
" Hæſerunt ibi fata diu: Luctataque multum
" Hac cum parte, viri vix omnia membra tulerunt."

The

U. C. 817. A. D. 66. The death of Petronius about this time, is too remarkable to be paſt over in ſilence. This perſon, whom many modern hiſtorians ſuppoſe to be the author of a work of no great merit, intituled Satyricon, which is ſtill remaining, was an Epicurean, both in principle and practice. In ſo luxurious a court as that of Nero, he was particularly noted for his refinements in luxury. He was accuſed of being privy to Piſo's conſpiracy, and committed to priſon. Petronius could not endure the anxiety of ſuſpenſe, wherefore, he reſolved upon putting himſelf to death; which he performed in a manner entirely ſimilar to that in which he had lived. He opened his veins, and then cloſed them as he thought leaſt painful, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and tranquillity. He converſed with his friends, not upon maxims of philoſophy, or grave ſubjects, but upon ſuch topics as had amuſed his gayeſt revels. He liſtened while they recited the lighteſt poems; and by no action, no word, nor circumſtance, ſhewed the perplexity of a dying perſon. Shortly after him, Numicius Thermus was put to death, as likewiſe Barea Soranus, and Pætus Thraſea. The deſtroying the two laſt, Tacitus calls an attack upon virtue itſelf. Thraſea died in the midſt of his friends and philoſophers, converſing and reaſoning on the nature of the ſoul. His wife who was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, was deſirous of following her mother's example, but he diſſuaded her from it. The death of the valiant Corbulo, who had gained Nero ſo many victories over the Parthians, followed next. Nor did the empreſs Poppea herſelf eſcape, whom in a fit of anger he kicked when ſhe was pregnant, by which ſhe miſcarried and died. At length, human nature grew weary of bearing her perſecutor, and the whole world ſeemed to rouze, as if by common conſent, to rid the earth of a monſter.

Sergius

Sergius Galba, who was at that time governor of Spain, was remarkable for his wiſdom in peace, and his courage in war; but as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he for ſome years had ſeemed willing to court obſcurity, giving himſelf up to an inactive life, and avoiding all opportunity of ſignalizing his valour.

But willing to rid his country of a monſter, he accepted the invitation of Vindex to march with an army towards Rome. The reputation of that general was ſuch, that from the moment he declared againſt Nero, that tyrant conſidered himſelf as undone. He received the account as he was at ſupper, and, inſtantly ſtruck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two cryſtal vaſes of immenſe value. He then fell into a ſwoon, from which, when he recovered, he tore his clothes, and ſtruck his head, crying out, "that he was utterly undone." He now, therefore, called for Locuſta to furniſh him with poiſon; and thus prepared for the worſt, he retired to the Servelian gardens, with a reſolution of flying into Egypt. Being prevented in this, and the revolt becoming general, he went in perſon, from houſe to houſe, but all the doors were ſhut againſt him, and none were found to anſwer his enquiries. Being now reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, he deſired that one of his favourite gladiators might come and diſpatch him; but even in this requeſt, there was none found to obey. "Alas," cried he, "have I neither friend nor enemy!" And then running deſperately forth, ſeemed reſolved to plunge headlong into the Tiber. But juſt then his courage beginning to fail him, he made a ſudden ſtop; as if willing to recollect his reaſon, and aſked for ſome ſecret place, where he might reaſſume his courage, and meet death with becoming fortitude. In this diſtreſs, Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-houſe, about four miles diſtant, where

where he might, for ſome time, remain concealed. Nero accepted his offer; and, half dreſſed as he was, with his head covered, and hiding his face with his handkerchief, he mounted on horſe-back, attended by four of his domeſtics, of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey, though ſhort, was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the firſt alarm. The lightning from Heaven next flaſhed in his face. Round him he heard nothing but confuſed noiſes from the camp, and the cries of the ſoldiers, imprecating a thouſand evils upon his head. A paſſenger, meeting him on the way, cried, "There go men in purſuit of Nero." Another aſked him, if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horſe taking fright at a dead body, that lay near the road, he dropped his handkerchief, and a ſoldier who was near addreſſed him by name. He now, therefore, quitted his horſe, and forſaking the highway, entered a thicket, that led towards the back part of Phaon's houſe, through which he crept, making the beſt of his way among the reeds and brambles, with which the place was overgrown. During this interval, the ſenate finding the prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die, "more majorum," that is, according to the cuſtom of the ancient laws. When he was told of the reſolution of the ſenate againſt him, he aſked the meſſenger what was meant by being puniſhed according to the rigour of the ancient laws? To this he was anſwered, that the criminal was to be ſtripped naked, his head was to be fixed in a pillory, and in that poſture he was to be ſcourged to death. Nero was ſo terrified at this, that he ſeized two poniards, which he had brought with him, and examining their points, returned them to their ſheaths, pretending, that the fatal moment was not yet arrived. He then deſired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were uſed at funerals; he

he next entreated that ſome of his attendants would die, to give him courage by his example; and afterwards began to reproach his own cowardice, crying out, "Does this become Nero? Is this trifling well "timed? No, no, let me be courageous." In fact, he had no time to ſpare, for the ſoldiers who had been ſent in purſuit of him, were juſt then approaching the houſe: wherefore, hearing the ſound of the horſes feet, he ſet a dagger to his throat, with which by the aſſiſtance of Epaphroditus, his freedman, and ſecretary, he gave himſelf a mortal wound. However he was not yet quite dead, when one of the centurions entering the room, and pretending he came to his relief, attempted to ſtop the blood with his cloak. But Nero regarding him with a ſtern countenance, ſaid, "It is now too late. Is this "your fidelity?" Upon which, with his eyes fixed, and frightfully ſtaring, he expired, even in death a ghaſtly ſpectacle of noxious tyranny.

He reigned thirteen years, ſeven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty-ſecond year of his age.

Galba was ſeventy-two years old when he was declared emperor, and was then in Spain with his legions. However, he ſoon found that his being raiſed to the throne, was but an inlet to new diſquietudes. He ſeemed to have three objects in view. To curb the inſolence of the ſoldiers, to puniſh thoſe vices which had come to an enormous height in the laſt reign, and to repleniſh the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality of his predeceſſors. However, permitting himſelf to be governed by favourites, he at one time ſhewed himſelf ſevere and frugal; at another, remiſs and prodigal; condemning ſome illuſtrious perſons, without any hearing; and pardoning others, though guilty. In conſequence of this, many ſeditions were kindled, and ſeveral

U. C. 821. A. D. 69.

factions

factions promoted in different parts of the empire but particularly in Germany.

Galba being informed of these commotions, was sensible, that, beside his age, he was less respected for want of an heir. He resolved, therefore, to put what he had formerly designed in execution, and to adopt some person, whose virtues might deserve such advancement, and protect his declining age from danger. His favourites understanding his determination, instantly resolved on giving him an heir of their own chusing; so that there arose a great contention among them upon this occasion. Otho made warm application for himself, alledging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to his assistance, when he had declared against Nero. However, Galba, being fully resolved to consult the public good alone, rejected his suit; and, on a day appointed, ordered Piso Lucinianus to attend him. The character given by historians of Piso is, that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. He was no way related to Galba; and had no other interest but merit to recommend him to his favour. Taking this youth, therefore, by the hand, in the presence of his friends, he adopted him to succeed in the empire, giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's conduct shewed that he was highly deserving this distinction: in all his deportment there appeared much modesty, firmness, and equality of mind, as bespoke him rather capable of discharging, than ambitious of obtaining, his present dignity. But the army and the senate did not seem equally disinterested upon this occasion; they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor, who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarice. The adoption, therefore,

therefore of Piſo was but coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation in a nation of univerſal depravity.

Otho, who had long been a favourite of Galba, and hoping to be adopted his ſucceſſor in the empire, finding his hopes diſappointed, and ſtill further ſtimulated by the immenſe load of debt which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, reſolved upon obtaining the empire by force, ſince he could not by peaceable ſucceſſion. Having corrupted the fidelity of the ſoldiers, he ſtole ſecretly from the emperor, while he was ſacrificing; and aſſembling the ſoldiers, in a ſhort ſpeech, urged the cruelties, and the avarice of Galba. Finding his invectives received with univerſal ſhouts by the whole army, he entirely threw off the maſk, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The ſoldiers being ripe for ſedition, immediately ſeconded his views, and taking Otho upon their ſhoulders, immediately declared him emperor; and, to ſtrike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their ſwords drawn, into the camp.

Soon after, finding the emperor in ſome meaſure, deſerted by his adherents, the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon him, trampling the crowds of people that then filled the forum, under foot. Galba ſeeing them approach, ſeemed to recollect all his former fortitude; and bending his head forward, bid the aſſaſſins ſtrike it off, if it were for the good of the people. This was quickly performed; and his head being ſet upon the point of a launce, was preſented to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuouſly carried round the camp; his body remaining unburied in the ſtreets, till it was interred by one of his ſlaves. He died in the ſeventy third year A. D. 69. of his age, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months; as illuſtrious by his own virtues, as it was contaminated

nated by the vices of his favourites, who ſhared in his downfall.

Otho, who was now elected emperor, began his reign, by a ſignal inſtance of clemency, in pardoning Marius Celſus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and not content with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the higheſt honours; aſſerting, that "fidelity deſerved every reward."

In the mean time, the legions in Lower Germany, having been purchaſed by the large gifts and ſpecious promiſes of Vitellius their general, were at length induced to proclaim him their emperor; and regardleſs of the ſenate, they declared that they had an equal right to appoint to that high ſtation, with the cohorts at Rome.

Otho departed from Rome with all haſte to give Vitellius battle. The army of Vitellius, which conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand men, was commanded by his generals Valens and Cecina, he himſelf remaining in Gaul, in order to bring up the reſt of his forces. Both ſides haſtened to meet each other with ſo much animoſity and precipitation, that three conſiderable battles were fought in the ſpace of three days. One near Placentia, another near Cremona, and a third at a place called Caſtor; in all which Otho and the Romans had the advantage. But theſe ſucceſſes were but of ſhort-lived continuance, for Valens and Cecina, who had hitherto acted ſeparately, joined their forces, and reinforcing their armies with freſh ſupplies, reſolved to come to a general engagement. In this, Otho's forces were totally overthrown, and he killed himſelf ſhortly after, having reigned three months and five days.

A. D. 70. Vitellius was immediately after declared emperor by the ſenate, and received the marks of diſtinction which were now accuſtomed to follow the appointments of the ſtrongeſt ſide.

Upon

Upon his arrival at Rome, he entered the city, not as a place he came to govern with juſtice, but as a town that was become his own by the laws of conqueſt.

Vitellius ſoon gave himſelf up to all kinds of luxury and profuſeneſs; but gluttony was his favourite vice; ſo that he brought himſelf to an habit of vomiting; in order to be able to renew his meals at pleaſure. His entertainments, though ſeldom at his own coſt, were prodigiouſly expenſive; he frequently invited himſelf to the tables of his ſubjects, breakfaſting with one, dining with another, and ſupping with a third, all in the ſame day.

By the continuance of ſuch vices, added to enormous cruelties, he became, not only a burden to himſelf, but odious to all mankind. Thus, having become inſupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the eaſt, who had at firſt acquieſced in his dominion, began to revolt; and ſhortly after, unanimouſly reſolved to make Veſpaſian emperor.

During the preparations againſt him, Vitellius, though buried in ſloth and luxury, was reſolved to make an effort to defend the empire; wherefore, his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered to make all poſſible preparations to reſiſt the invaders. The firſt army that entered Italy with an hoſtile intention, was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna, near Cremona. A battle was expected to enſue; but a negociation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed upon to change ſides, and declare for Veſpaſian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done; and, impriſoning their general, attacked Antonius, though without a leader. The engagement continued during the whole night; and, in the morning, after a ſhort repaſt, both armies engaged a ſecond time; when the ſoldiers of Antonius ſaluting the

riſing ſun, according to cuſtom, the Vitellians ſuppoſing that they had received new reinforcements, betook themſelves to flight, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.

In the mean time, Vitellius, who was wallowing in all kinds of luxury and exceſs, made offers to Veſpaſian, of reſigning the empire, provided his life was ſpared, and a ſufficient revenue allotted for his ſurport. In order to enforce this requeſt, he iſſued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domeſtics weeping round him. He then went to offer the ſword of juſtice to Cecilius the conſul; which he refuſing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the enſigns of empire in the temple of Concord; but being interrupted by ſome, who cried out, that he himſelf was Concord, he reſolved, upon ſo weak an encouragement, ſtill to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

During this fluctuation of counſels, one Sabinus, who had adviſed Vitellius to reſign, perceiving his deſperate ſituation, reſolved, by a bold ſtep, to oblige Veſpaſian; and accordingly ſeized upon the Capitol. But he was premature in his attempt; for the ſoldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury; and prevailing by their numbers, ſoon laid that beautiful building in aſhes. During this dreadful conflagration, Vitellius was feaſting in the palace of Tiberius, and beholding all the horrors of the aſſault with great ſatisfaction. Sabinus was taken priſoner; and ſhortly after executed by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, eſcaped by flight, in the habit of a prieſt; and all the reſt who ſurvived the fire, were put to the ſword.

But Antonius, Veſpaſian's commander, being arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of Vitellius reſolved upon defending it to the utmoſt extremity. It was attacked, on three ſides, with the utmoſt

utmoſt fury; while the army within, ſallying upon the beſiegers, defended it with equal obſtinacy. The battle laſted a whole day; till, at laſt, the beſieged were driven into the city, and a dreadful ſlaughter made of them in all the ſtreets which they vainly attempted to defend.

Vitellius was ſoon found hidden in an obſcure corner, from whence he was taken by a party of the conquering ſoldiers. Still, however, willing to add a few hours more to his miſerable life, he begged to be kept in priſon till the arrival of of Veſpaſian at Rome, pretending that he had ſecrets of importance to diſcover. But his intreaties were vain: the ſoldiers binding his hands behind him, and throwing an halter round his neck, led him along, half naked, into the public forum, upbraiding him, as they proceeded, with all thoſe bitter reproaches their malice could ſuggeſt, or his own cruelty might deſerve. At length, being come to the place of puniſhment, they killed him with many blows: and then dragging the dead body through the ſtreets with an hook, they threw it, with all poſſible ignominy, into the river Tyber.

Veſpaſian was now declared emperor, A. D. 70. by the unanimous conſent, both of the ſenate and the army, and dignified with all thoſe titles, which now followed rather the power than the merit of thoſe who were appointed to govern.

Having continued ſome months at Alexandria, in Egypt, where, it is ſaid, he cured a blind and a lame man by touching them, he ſet out for Rome, giving his ſon Titus the command of the army that was to lay ſiege to Jeruſalem, while himſelf went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the ſenate, and near half the inhabitants, who gave the ſincereſt teſtimonies of their joy, in having an emperor of ſuch great and experienced virtues. Nor did he, in the leaſt, diſappoint their expectations;

being equally aſſiduous in rewarding merit, and pardoning his adverſaries; in reforming the manners of the citizens, and ſetting them the beſt example of his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war againſt the Jews with vigour. This obſtinate and infatuated people had long reſolved to reſiſt the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own hiſtorian repreſents them, as arrived at the higheſt pitch of iniquity; while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conſpired to forewarn their approaching ruin. Nor was it ſufficient that Heaven and earth ſeemed combined againſt them; they had the moſt bitter diſſenſions among themſelves; and were ſplit in two parties, that robbed and deſtroyed each other with impunity; ſtill pillaging, and, at the ſame time, boaſting their zeal for the religion of their anceſtors.

At the head of one of theſe parties was an incendiary whoſe name was John. This fanatic affected ſovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jeruſalem, and all the towns around with tumult and pillage. In a ſhort time, a new faction aroſe, headed by one Simon, who gathering together multitudes of robbers and murderers, who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea into his power. Jeruſalem, at length, became the theatre, in which theſe two demagogues began to exerciſe their mutual animoſity; John was poſſeſſed of the temple, while Simon was admitted into the city; both equally enraged againſt each other; while ſlaughter and devaſtation followed their pretenſions. Thus did a city formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become the ſeat of tumult and confuſion.

It was in this miſerable ſituation that Titus began his operations within about ſix furlongs of the city

city of Jeruſalem, during the feaſt of the Paſſover, when the place was filled with an infinite multitude of people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great ſolemnity. The approach of the Romans produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within the city; ſo that they unanimouſly reſolved to oppoſe the common enemy firſt, and then decide their domeſtic quarrels at a more convenient ſeaſon. Their firſt ſally, which was made with much fury and reſolution, put the beſiegers into great diſorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp, and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city; while Titus, in perſon, ſhewed great inſtances of valour and conduct.

Theſe advantages over the Romans, only renewed in the beſieged their deſires of private revenge. A tumult enſued in the temple, in which ſeveral of both parties were ſlain: and in this manner, upon every remiſſion from without, the factions of John and Simon violently raged againſt each other within; agreeing only in their reſolution to defend the city againſt the Romans.

The city was ſtrongly fortified by three walls on every ſide, except where it was fenced by deep vallies. Titus began by battering down the outward wall, which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected; all the time ſhewing the greateſt clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated aſſurances of pardon. Five days after the commencement of the ſiege, Titus broke through the ſecond wall, and, though driven back by the beſieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparations for battering the third wall, which was their laſt defence. But firſt he ſent Joſephus, their countryman, into the city, to exhort them to yield, who uſing all his eloquence to perſuade them, was only reviled with ſcoffs and

reproaches. The ſiege was now, therefore, carried on with greater vigour than before; ſeveral batteries for engines were raiſed, which were no ſooner built, than deſtroyed by the enemy. At length it was reſolved in council, to ſurround the whole city with a trench, and thus prevent all relief and ſuccours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, ſeemed no way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine and peſtilence, its neceſſary attendant, began now to make the moſt horrid ravages among them, yet this deſperate people ſtill reſolved to hold out. He now cut down all the woods within a conſiderable diſtance of the city, and cauſing more batteries to be raiſed, he, at length, battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. The Jews, however, contined to deceive themſelves with abſurd and falſe expectations, while many falſe prophets deluded the multitude, delaring, they ſhould ſoon have aſſiſtance from God, The heat of the battle was now, therefore, gathered round the inner wall of the temple, while the defendants deſperately combated from the top. Titus was willing to ſave this beautiful ſtructure. But a ſoldier caſting a brand into ſome adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the temple, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours on both ſides, the whole edifice was quickly conſumed. The ſight of the temple in ruins, effectually ſerved to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to perceive, that Heaven had forſaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adjacent mountains. Even thoſe who were almoſt expiring, lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loſs of their temple, which they valued more than life itſelf. The moſt reſolute, however, ſtill endeavoured to defend the upper and ſtronger part of the city, named Sion; but Titus with his battering engines, ſoon made himſelf entire maſter of the place. John and Simon were taken from the

vaults

vaults where they had concealed themſelves; the former was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and the latter reſerved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greateſt part of the populace were put to the ſword, and the city was, after a ſixth month's ſiege, entirely razed by the plough; ſo that, according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one ſtone remained upon another. The numbers who periſhed in this ſiege, according to Joſephus, amounted to above a million of ſouls, and the captives to almoſt an hundred thouſand.

Upon the taking of Jeruſalem, his ſoldiers would have crowned Titus as conqueror, but he modeſtly refuſed the honour, alledging, that he was only an inſtrument in the hand of Heaven, that manifeſtly declared its wrath againſt the Jews. At Rome, however, all men's mouths were filled with the praiſes of the conqueror, who had not only ſhewn himſelf an excellent general, but a courageous combatant: his return, therefore, in triumph, which he did with his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy that was in the power of men to expreſs. All things that were eſteemed valuable or beautiful among men, were brought to adorn this great occaſion. Among the rich ſpoils were expoſed vaſt quantities of gold, taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the leaſt remarkable among the magnificent profuſion. This was the firſt time that ever Rome ſaw the father and ſon in triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occaſion, on which were deſcribed all the victories of Titus over the Jews, which remains almoſt entire to this very day. Veſpaſian likewiſe built a temple to Peace, wherein were depoſited moſt of the Jewiſh ſpoils; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he ſhut up the temple of Janus, which had been open about five or ſix years.

Few emperors have received a better character from hiſtorians than Veſpaſian, yet all his numerous acts of generoſity and magnificence, could not preſerve his character from the imputation of rapacity and avarice. He deſcended to ſome very unuſual and diſhonourable impoſts, even to the laying a tax upon urine. When his ſon Titus remonſtrated againſt the meanneſs of ſuch a tax, Veſpaſian taking a piece of money, demanded if the ſmell offended him; adding, that this very money was produced by urine.

Notwithſtanding, having reigned ten years, loved by his ſubjects, and deſerving their affection, he was ſurpriſed with an indiſpoſition at Campania, which from the beginning he declared would be fatal; and perceiving his end approaching, as he was juſt going to expire, he cried out, that an emperor ought to die ſtanding; wherefore, raiſing himſelf upon his feet, he expired in the hands of thoſe that ſuſtained him.

A. D. 79. Titus being joyfully received as emperor, began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became a ſovereign and a man. During the life of his father, there had been many imputations againſt him, both for cruelty, luſt, and prodigality; but upon his exaltation to the throne, he ſeemed entirely to take leave of his former vices, and became an example of the greateſt moderation and humanity. His firſt ſtep towards gaining the affections of his ſubjects, was his moderating his paſſions, and bridling his ſtrong inclinations. He had long loved Berenice, ſiſter to Agrippa, king of Judæa, a woman of the greateſt beauty, and refined allurements. But knowing that the connection with her was entirely diſagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained a victory over his affections, and ſent her away, notwithſtanding their mutual paſſion, and the many arts ſhe uſed to induce him to change his reſolutions,

ſolutions. He next diſcarded all thoſe, who had been the former miniſters of his pleaſures, and forbore to countenance the companions of his looſer recreations, though he had formerly taken great pains in the ſelection. This moderation, added to his juſtice and generoſity, procured him the love of all good men, and the appellation of the Delight of Mankind; which all his actions ſeemed calculated to enſure.

Titus took particular care to puniſh all informers, falſe witneſſes, and promoters of diſſenſion. Thoſe wretches, who had their riſe in the licentiouſneſs and impunity of former reigns, were now become ſo numerous, that their crimes called loudly for puniſhment. Of theſe, therefore, he daily made public examples; condemning them to be ſcourged in the moſt public ſtreets; next to be dragged through the theatre, and then to be baniſhed into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or ſold as ſlaves. His courteſy and readineſs to do good, have been celebrated even by Chriſtian writers; his principal rule being, never to ſend any petitioner diſſatisfied away. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind the day preceding, he cried out, among his friends. "I have loſt a day!" A ſentence too remarkable not to be univerſally known.

Learning that two noblemen had conſpired againſt him, he readily forgave them, and the next day, placing them next himſelf in the theatre, he put the ſwords with which the gladiators fought into their hands, demanding their judgment and approbation, whether they were of ſufficient length.

In this reign, an eruption of mount Veſuvius did conſiderable damage, overwhelming many towns, and throwing its aſhes into countries more than an hundred miles diſtant. Upon this memorable occaſion, Pliny the naturaliſt loſt his life; for being impelled by too eager a curioſity to obſerve the

eruption, he was ſuffocated in the flames. There happened alſo about this time a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights ſucceſſively, being followed by a plague, in which ten thouſand men, were buried in a day. The emperor, however, did all that lay in his power to repair the damages ſuſtained by the public; and, with reſpect to the city, declared that he would take the whole loſs of that upon himſelf.

Theſe diſaſters were, in ſome meaſure counterbalanced by the ſucceſſes in Britain, under Agricola. This excellent general having been ſent into that country towards the latter end of Veſpaſian's reign, ſhewed himſelf equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing thoſe who had formerly ſubmitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the firſt that were ſubdued. He then made a deſcent upon Mona, or the iſland of Angleſey, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. Having thus rendered himſelf maſter of the whole country, he took every method to reſtore diſcipline to his own army, and to introduce ſome ſhare of politeneſs among thoſe whom he had conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples, theatres, and ſtately houſes. He cauſed the ſons of their nobility to be inſtructed in the liberal arts; he had them taught the Latin language, and induced them to imitate the Roman modes of dreſs and living. Thus by degrees, this barbarous people began to aſſume the luxurious manners of the conquerors, and, in ſome time, even to outdo them in all the refinements of ſenſual pleaſure. Upon account of theſe ſucceſſes in Britain, Titus was ſaluted imperator the fifteenth time; but he did not long ſurvive this honour, being ſurpriſed by a violent fever at a little diſtance from Rome. He expired ſhortly after, but not without ſuſpicion of treachery from his brother Domitian, who had long

wiſhed

wiſhed to govern. His death was in the forty-firſt year of his age, having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days.

The beginning of Domitian's reign was univerſally acceptable to the people, as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality and juſtice. A. D. 81.

But he ſoon began to ſhew the natural deformity of his mind. Inſtead of cultivating literature, as his father and brother had done, he neglected all kinds of ſtudy, addicting himſelf wholly to meaner purſuits, particularly archery and gaming. He was ſo very expert an archer, that he would frequently cauſe one of his ſlaves to ſtand at a great diſtance, with his hand ſpread as a mark, and would ſhoot his arrows with ſuch exactneſs, as to ſtick them all between his fingers. He inſtituted three ſorts of conteſts to be obſerved every five years; in muſic, horſemanſhip, and wreſtling; but at the ſame time he baniſhed all philoſophers and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor before him entertained the people with ſuch various and expenſive ſhows. During theſe diverſions, he diſtributed great rewards, ſitting as preſident himſelf, adorned with a purple robe and crown, with the prieſts of Jupiter, and the college of Flavian prieſts about him. The meanneſs of his occupation in ſolitude, was a juſt contraſt to his exhibitions of public oſtentation. He uſually ſpent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and ſticking them through with a bodkin; ſo that one of his ſervants being aſked if the emperor were alone, anſwered, that he had not ſo much as a fly to bear him company.

His vices ſeemed every day to encreaſe with the duration of his reign. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola ſeemed the firſt ſymptoms of his natural malevolence. Domitian was always particularly fond of obtaining a military reputation, and therefore jealous

jealous of it in others. He had marched ſome time before into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition againſt the Catti, a people of Germany; and, without ever ſeeing the enemy, reſolved to have the honour of a triumph upon his return to Rome. For that purpoſe, he purchaſed a number of ſlaves whom he dreſſed in German habits, and at the head of this miſerable proceſſion, entered the city, amidſt the apparent acclamations, and concealed contempt, of all his ſubjects. The ſucceſſes, therefore, of Agricola in Britain, affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This admirable general purſued the advantages which he had already obtained. He ſubdued the Caledonians; and overcame Galgacus, the Britiſh chief, at the head of thirty thouſand men; and afterwards ſending out a fleet to ſcour the coaſt, firſt diſcovered Great Britain to be an iſland. He likewiſe diſcovered and ſubdued the Orkneys; and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of theſe ſucceſſes were brought to Domitian, he received it with a ſeeming pleaſure, but real uneaſineſs. He thought Agricola's riſing reputation a tacit reproach upon his own inactivity; and inſtead of attempting to emulate, he reſolved to ſuppreſs the merit of his ſervices. He ordered him, therefore, external marks of approbation; and took care that triumphant ornaments, ſtatues, and other honours, ſhould be decreed him; but at the ſame time he removed him from his command, under a pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria. By theſe means, Agricola ſurrendered up his province to Saluſtius Lucullus, but ſoon found that Syria was otherwiſe diſpoſed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately, and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and dying ſome time after in retirement, it was ſuppoſed by ſome that his end was haſtened by Domitian's direction.

Domitian

Domitian ſoon after found the want of ſo experienced a commander, in the many irruptions of the barbarous nations that ſurrounded the empire. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with thoſe of Aſia, made a formidable invaſion, at once deſtroying a whole legion, and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, under the conduct of Decebalus their king, made an irruption, and overthrew the Romans in ſeveral engagements. At laſt, however, the barbarians were repelled, partly by force, and partly by the aſſiſtance of money; which only ſerved to enable them to make future invaſions with greater advantage. But in whatever manner the enemy might have been repelled, Domitian was reſolved not to loſe the honours of a triumph. He returned in great ſplendor to Rome; and, not contented with thus triumphing twice without a victory, he reſolved to take the ſurname of Germanicus, for his conqueſts over a people with whom he never contended.

In proportion as the ridicule encreaſed againſt him, his pride ſeemed every day to demand greater homage. He would permit his ſtatues to be made only of gold and ſilver; he aſſumed to himſelf divine honours; and ordered that all men ſhould treat him with the ſame appellations which they gave to the divinity. His cruelty was not behind his arrogance; he cauſed numbers of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators, and others, to be put to death, upon the moſt trifling pretences. One. Ælius Lama was condemned and executed only for jeſting, though there was neither novelty nor poignancy in his humour. Cocceanus was murdered only for celebrating the nativity of Otho. Pompoſianus ſhared the ſame fate, becauſe it was foretold by an aſtrologer that he ſhould be emperor. Saluſtius Lucullus, his lieutenant in Britain, was deſtroyed only for having given his name to a new ſort of launces of his own invention. Junius Ruſticus died for publiſhing a book, in which

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he commended Thraſea and Priſcus, two philoſophers, who oppoſed Veſpaſian's coming to the throne.

Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, knowing how much the emperor was deteſted at home, reſolved upon ſtriking for the throne; and, accordingly, aſſumed the enſigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, his ſucceſs remained a long time doubtful; but a ſudden overflowing of the Rhine, dividing his army, he was ſet upon at that juncture by Normandus, the emperor's general, and totally routed. The news of this victory, we are told, was brought to Rome, by ſupernatural means, on the ſame day that the battle was fought. Domitian's ſeverity was greatly encreaſed by this ſhort-lived ſucceſs. In order to diſcover thoſe who were accomplices with the adverſe party, he invented new tortures; ſometimes cutting off the hands, at other times thruſting fire into the privities of thoſe whom he ſuſpected of being his enemies. During his ſeverities, he aggravated his guilt by hypocriſy, never pronouncing ſentence without a preamble full of gentleneſs and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his houſhold, he treated him with the moſt ſeeming friendſhip, and ordered him a diſh of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter the day he had concluded upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the ſenate and nobility; the whole body of whom he frequently threatened to extirpate entirely. At one time, he ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe with his troops, to the great conſternation of the ſenators. At another, he reſolved to amuſe himſelf with their terrors in a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a ſpacious hall, hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps, that diffuſed light only

only ſufficient to ſhew the horrors of the place. All around were to be ſeen nothing but coffins, with the names of each of the ſenators written upon them, together with other objects of terror, and inſtruments of execution. While the company beheld all theſe preparation with ſilent agony, ſeveral men, having their bodies blackened, each with a drawn ſword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and danced round them. After ſome time, when the gueſts expected nothing leſs than the moſt inſtant death, well knowing Domitian's capricious cruelty, the doors were ſet open, and one of the ſervants came to inform them, that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw.

Theſe cruelties were rendered ſtill more odious by his luſt and avarice. Frequently, after preſiding at an execution, he would retire with the lewdeſt proſtitutes, and uſe the ſame baths which they did. The laſt part of the tyrant's reign was more inſupportable than any of the preceding. Nero exerciſed his cruelties without being a ſpectator; but a principal part of the Roman miſeries, during his reign, was to ſee and be ſeen; to behold the ſtern air, and fiery viſage of the tyrant, which he had armed againſt bluſhing by continued intemperance, directing the tortures, and maliciouſly pleaſed with adding poignance to every agony.

But a period was ſoon to be put to this monſter's cruelties. Among the number of thoſe whom he at once careſſed and ſuſpected, was his wife Domitia; whom he had taken from Ælius Lama, her former huſband. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all ſuch as he intended to deſtroy in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumſpection. Domitia, fortunately, happening to get a ſight of them, was ſtruck at finding her own name in the catalogue of thoſe fated to deſtruction. She

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ſhewed the fatal liſt to Norbanus and Petronius, præfects of the prætorian bands, who found themſelves ſet down; as likewiſe to Stephanus, the comptroller of the houſhold, who came into the conſpiracy with alacrity. They fixed upon the eighteenth day of September, for the completion of their great attempt. Upon preparing to go to the bath on the morning of that day, Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him that Stephanus, the comptroller of the houſhold, deſired to ſpeak to him, upon an affair of the utmoſt importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants ſhould retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a ſcarf, which he had worn thus for ſome days, the better to conceal a dagger, as none were permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began by giving information of a pretended conſpiracy, and exhibited a paper, in which the particulars were ſpecified. While Domitian was reading the contents, with an eager curioſity, Stephanus drew the dagger, and ſtruck him in the groin. The wound not being mortal, Domitian caught hold of the aſſaſſin, and threw him upon the ground, calling out for aſſiſtance. But Parthenius, with his freedman, a gladiator, and two ſubaltern officers, now coming in, they ran all furiouſly upon the emperor, and diſpatched him with ſeven wounds.

It is almoſt incredible what ſome writers relate concerning Appollonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephenus. This perſon, whom ſome call a magician, and ſome a philoſopher, but who more probably was nothing more than an impoſtor, was juſt at the minute in which Domitian was ſlain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city. But ſtopping ſhort, all of a ſudden he cried out, "Cou-"rage, Stephanus, ſtrike the tyrant." And then, after a pauſe, "Rejoice, my friends, the tyrant dies "this

"this day; this day do I ſay! the very moment in "which I kept ſilence he ſuffers for his crimes, he "dies!"

Many more prodigies were ſaid to have portended his death; but the fate of ſuch a monſter ſeemed to produce more preternatural diſturbances, and more predictions than it deſerved. The truth ſeems to be, that a belief in omens and prodigies was again become prevalent; the people were again relapſing into priſtine barbarity: a country of ignorance is ever the proper ſoil for an harveſt of impoſture.

CHAP. XXIII.

The five good Emperors of Rome.

[A. D. 96.]

WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was ſlain, the ſenate began to load his memory with every reproach. His ſtatues were commanded to be taken down; and a decree was made, that all his inſcriptions ſhould be eraſed, his name ſtruck out of the regiſters of Fame, and his funeral omitted. The people who now took little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the ſoldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours, and enriched by largeſſes, ſincerely regretted their benefactor.

The ſenate therefore, reſolved to provide a ſucceſſor before the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themſelves; and Cocceius Nerva was choſen to the empire the very day on which the tyrant was ſlain. He was of an illuſtrious family, as moſt ſay, by birth a Spaniard, and above ſixty-five years old when he was called to the throne. He was, at that time, the moſt remarkable man in Rome, for his virtues, moderation,

tion, and reſpect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blameleſs conduct of his former life.

The people being long accuſtomed to tyranny, regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture, and even gave his imbecility (for his humanity was carried too far for juſtice) the name of benevolence. Upon coming to the throne, he ſolemnly ſwore that no ſenator of Rome ſhould be put to death by his command, during his reign, though they gave ever ſo juſt a cauſe. This oath he ſo religiouſly obſerved, that when two ſenators had conſpired his death, he uſed no kind of ſeverity againſt them; but ſending for them, to let them ſee he was not ignorant of their deſigns, he carried them with him to the public theatre: there preſenting each a dagger, he deſired them to ſtrike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow.

During his ſhort reign he made ſeveral good laws. He particularly prohibited the caſtration of male children; which had been likewiſe condemned by his predeceſſor, but not wholly removed. He put all thoſe ſlaves to death, who had, during the laſt reign, informed againſt their maſters. He permitted no ſtatues to be erected in his honour, and converted ſuch of Domitian's as had been ſpared by the ſenate, into money. He ſold many rich robes, and much of the ſplendid furniture of the palace, and retrenched ſeveral unreaſonable expences at court. At the ſame time, he had ſo little regard for money, that when one of his ſubjects found a large treaſure, and wrote to the emperor, how to diſpoſe of it, he received for anſwer, that he might uſe it; but the finder ſtill informing the emperor that it was a fortune too large for a private perſon, Nerva, admiring his honeſty, wrote him word, that then he might abuſe it.

A life

A life of ſuch generoſity and mildneſs, was not, however, without its enemies. Virgilius Rufus, who had oppoſed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the conſulſhip. Calpurnius Craſſus alſo, with ſome others, formed a conſpiracy to deſtroy him; but he reſted ſatisfied with baniſhing thoſe who were culpable, though the ſenate were for inflicting more rigorous puniſhments. But the moſt dangerous inſurrection againſt his intereſts, was from the prætorian bands, who, headed by Caſparius Olianus, inſiſted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whoſe memory was ſtill dear to them, from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whoſe kindneſs to good men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to ſtop the progreſs of this inſurrection; he preſented himſelf to the mutinous ſoldiers, and opening his boſom, deſired them to ſtrike there, rather than be guilty of ſo much injuſtice. The ſoldiers, however paid no regard to his remonſtrances, but ſeizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, ſlew them in the moſt ignominious manner. Not content with this, they even compelled the emperor to approve of their ſedition, and to make a ſpeech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So diſagreeable a reſtraint upon the emperor's inclinations, was, in the end, attended with the moſt happy effects, as it cauſed the adoption of Trajan to ſucceed him. For perceiving that in the preſent turbulent diſpoſition of the times, he ſtood in need of an aſſiſtant in the empire, ſetting aſide all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpius Trajan, an utter ſtranger to his family, who was then governor in Upper Germany, as his ſucceſſor. And in about three months after, having put himſelf into a violent paſſion with one Regulus, a ſenator, he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died, after a ſhort

a ſhort reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the firſt foreign emperor who reigned in Rome, and juſtly reputed a prince of great generoſity and moderation. He is alſo celebrated for his wiſdom, though with leſs reaſon, the greateſt inſtance he gave of it during his reign, being the choice of his ſucceſſor.

U. C. 851 A. D. 98. Trajan's family was originally from Italy, but he himſelf was born at Seville, in Spain. Upon being informed of the death of Nerva, he prepared to return to Rome, from Germany, where he was governor; and one of the firſt lectures he received, upon his arrival, was from Plutarch, the philoſopher, who had the honour of being his maſter, and is ſaid to have written him a letter to the following purpoſe: "Since your merits, and not your importunities, have advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratulate your virtues, and my own good fortune. If your future government proves anſwerable to your former worth, I ſhall be happy. But if you become worſe for power, yours will be the danger, and mine the ignominy of your conduct. The errors of the pupil will be charged upon his inſtructor. Seneca is reproached for the enormities of Nero; and Socrates and Quintilian have not eſcaped cenſure for the miſconduct of their reſpective ſcholars. But you have it in your power to make me the moſt honoured of men, by continuing what you are. Continue the command of your paſſions; and make virtue the ſcope of all your actions. If you follow theſe inſtructions, then will I glory in my having preſumed to give them; if you neglect what I offer, then will this letter be my teſtimony that you have not erred thro' the council and authority of Plutarch." I have inſerted

ſerted this letter, whether genuine or not, becauſe it ſeems to me well written; and a ſtriking picture of this great philoſopher's manner of addreſſing that beſt of princes.

This good monarch's application to buſineſs, his moderation to his enemies, his modeſty in exaltation, his liberality to the deſerving, and his frugality in his own expences, have all been the ſubject of panegyric among his cotemporaries; and they continue to be the admiration of poſterity.

Upon giving the præfect of the prætorian bands the ſword, according to cuſtom, he made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion; "Take this ſword, and "uſe it: if I have merit, for me; if otherwiſe, "againſt me." After which, he added, that he who gave laws was the firſt who was bound to obſerve them.

The firſt war he was engaged in after his coming to the throne, was with the Dacians, who, during the reign of Domitian, had committed numberleſs ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raiſed a powerful army, and with great expedition marched into thoſe barbarous countries, where he was vigorouſly oppoſed by Decebalus, the Dacian king, who, for a long time, withſtood his boldeſt efforts. At length, however, this monarch being conſtrained to come to a general battle, and no longer able to protract the war, he was routed with great ſlaughter; though not without great loſs to the conquerors. The Roman ſoldiers, upon this occaſion, wanting linen to bind up their wounds, the emperor tore his own robes to ſupply them. This victory compelled the enemy to ſue for peace, which they obtained upon very diſadvantageous terms; their king coming into the Roman camp, and acknowledging himſelf a vaſſal of the Roman empire.

Upon

Upon Trajan's return, after the uſual triumphs and rejoicings upon ſuch an occaſion were over, he was ſurpriſed with an account, that the Dacians had renewed hoſtilities. Decebalus, their king, was now, therefore, a ſecond time, adjudged an enemy to the Roman ſtate, and Trajan invaded his dominions with an army equal to that with which he had before ſubdued him. But Decebalus, now grown more cautious by his former defeat, uſed every art to avoid coming to an engagement. He alſo put various ſtratagems in practice, to diſtreſs the enemy; and, at one time, Trajan himſelf was in danger of being ſlain or taken. He alſo took Longinus, one of the Roman generals, priſoner, and threatened to kill him, in caſe Trajan refuſed granting him terms of peace. But the emperor replied, that peace and war had not their dependence upon the ſafety of one ſubject only; wherefore Longinus, ſome time after, deſtroyed himſelf by a voluntary death. The fate of this general ſeemed to give new vigour to Trajan's operations. In order to be better enabled to invade the enemies territories at pleaſure, he undertook a moſt ſtupendous work, which was no leſs than building a bridge acroſs the Danube. This amazing ſtructure, which was built over a deep, broad, and rapid river, conſiſted of more than twenty-two arches, an hundred and fifty feet high, and an hundred and ſeventy broad: the ruins of this ſtructure which remain to this day, ſhew modern architects how far they were ſurpaſſed by the ancients, both in the greatneſs and the boldneſs of their deſigns. Upon finiſhing this work, Trajan continued the war with great vigour, ſharing with the meaneſt of his ſoldiers the fatigues of the campaign, and continually encouraging them to their duty by his own example. By theſe means, notwithſtanding the country was ſpacious and uncultivated, and the inhabitants brave and hardy, he ſubdued

dued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia, as a province to the Roman empire. Decebalus made ſome attempts to eſcape, but being ſurrounded on every ſide, he at laſt ſlew himſelf, and his head was ſent immediately to Rome, to certify his misfortune there. Theſe ſucceſſes ſeemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of ſplendor, than it had hitherto acquired. Ambaſſadors were ſeen to come from the interior parts of India, to congratulate Trajan's ſucceſs, and beſpeak his friendſhip. At his return to Rome, he entered the city in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories laſted for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty days.

Having given peace and proſperity to the empire, he continued his reign, loved, honoured, and almoſt adored, by his ſubjects. He adorned the city with public buildings; he freed it from ſuch men as lived by their vices; he entertained perſons of merit with the utmoſt familiarity; and ſo little feared his enemies, that he could ſcarcely be induced to ſuppoſe he had any.

It had been happy for this great prince's memory, if he had ſhewn equal clemency to all his ſubjects; but, about the ninth year of his reign, he was perſuaded to look upon the Chriſtians with a ſuſpicious eye; and great numbers of them were put to death, as well by popular tumults as by edicts and judicial proceedings. However, the perſecution ceaſed after ſome time; for the emperor having advice from Pliny, the proconſul in Bithynia, of the innocence and ſimplicity of the Chriſtians, and of their inoffenſive and moral way of living, he ſuſpended their puniſhments. U. C. 860. A. D. 107.

During this emperor's reign, there was a dreadful inſurrection of the Jews in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, ſtill infatuated, and ever expecting ſome ſignal deliverance, took the advantage of Trajan's abſence in the Eaſt, in an expedition he had

had undertaken againſt the Armenians and Parthians, to maſſacre all the Greeks, and Romans, which they got into their power, without reluctance or mercy. This rebellion firſt began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; from thence the flame extended to Egypt, and next to the iſland of Cyprus. Theſe places, they, in a manner diſpeopled with ungovernable fury. Their barbarities were ſuch, that they eat the fleſh of their enemies, wore their ſkins, ſawed them aſunder, caſt them to wild beaſts, made them kill each other, and ſtudied new torments by which to deſtroy them. However, theſe cruelties were of no long duration; the governors of the reſpective provinces making head againſt their tumultuous fury, ſoon treated them with a retaliation of cruelty, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous peſts to ſociety. As the Jews had practiſed their cruelties in Cyprus particularly, a law was publicly enacted, by which it was made capital for any Jew to ſet foot on the iſland.

During theſe bloody tranſactions, Trajan was proſecuting his ſucceſſes in the Eaſt, where he carried the Roman arms farther than they had ever been before; but reſolving to return once more to Rome, he found himſelf too weak to proceed in his uſual manner. He therefore ordered himſelf to be carried on ſhipboard, to the city of Saleucia, where he died of the apoplexy, having been attacked by that diſorder once before, in the ſixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days.

A. D. 117.

Adrian, who was nephew to Trajan, was adopted to ſucceed in the empire, and elected by all orders of the ſtate, though abſent from Rome, being then at Antioch, as general of the forces in the Eaſt.

Upon his election, he began to purſue a courſe quite oppoſite to that of his predeceſſor, taking every method

method of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was quite ſatisfied with preſerving the ancient limits of the empire, and ſeemed no way ambitious of extenſive conqueſt.

Adrian was one of the moſt remarkable of the Roman emperors, for the variety of his endowments. He was highly ſkilful in all the accompliſhments both of body and mind. He compoſed with great beauty, both in proſe and verſe; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the beſt orators of his time. Nor were his moral virtues leſs than his accompliſhments. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet but a private man. One day meeting a perſon who had formerly been his moſt inveterate enemy, "My good friend," cried he, "you "have eſcaped, for I am made emperor." He was affable to his friends, and gentle to perſons of meaner ſtations; he relieved their wants, and viſited them in ſickneſs; it being his conſtant maxim, that he was an emperor not elected for his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

Theſe were his virtues, which were contraſted by a ſtrange mixture of vices; or, to ſay the truth, he wanted ſtrength of mind to preſerve his general rectitude of character without deviation.

He was ſcarce ſettled on the throne, when ſeveral of the northern barbarians, the Alani, the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, began to make devaſtations on the empire. Theſe hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, by iſſuing from their foreſts, and then retiring upon the approach of a ſuperior force oppoſing them, began to be truly formidable to Rome. Adrian had thoughts of contracting the limits of the empire, by giving up ſome of the moſt remote and leaſt defenſible provinces; but in this he was over-ruled by his friends, who wrongly imagined that an extenſive frontier would intimidate

an invading enemy. But though he complied with their remonſtrances, he broke down the bridge over the Danube, which his predeceſſor had built, ſenſible that the ſame paſſage which was open to him, was equally convenient to the incurſions of his barbarous neighbours.

Having ſtayed a ſhort time at Rome ſo as to ſee that all things were regulated and eſtabliſhed for the ſafety of the public, he prepared to viſit and take a view of his whole empire. It was one of his maxims that an emperor ought to imitate the ſun, which diffuſes warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took with him a ſplendid court, and a conſiderable force, and entered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, from thence to Holland, and then paſſed over into Great Britain. There reforming many abuſes, and reconciling the natives to the Romans; for the better ſecurity of the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth, extending from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the Tyne, in Northumberland, to prevent the incurſions of the Picts, and the other barbarous nations to the north. From Britain, returning thro' Gaul, he directed his journey to Spain, where he was received with great joy, as being a native of that country. There, wintering in the city of Tarragona, he called a meeting of the deputies from all the provinces, and ordained many things for the benefit of the nation. From Spain, returning to Rome, he continued there for ſome time, in order to prepare for his journey into the eaſt, which was haſtened by a new invaſion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he purſued his travels without moleſtation. Arriving in Aſia Minor, he turned out of his way, to viſit the famous city of Athens. There making a conſiderable ſtay, he was initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries, which were accounted

accounted the moſt ſacred in the pagan mythology; and took upon him the office of archon, or chief magiſtrate of the place. In this place alſo, he remitted the ſeverity of the Chriſtian perſecution, at the repreſentation of Granianus, the pro-conſul of Aſia, who repreſented the people of that perſuaſion as no way culpable. He was even ſo far reconciled to them as to think of receiving Chriſt among the number of the Gods. After a winter's continuance at Athens, he went over into Sicily: and viſited Ætna, and the other curioſities of the place. Returning from thence once more to Rome, after a ſhort ſtay, he prepared ſhips, and croſſed over into Africa. There he ſpent much time in regulating abuſes, and reforming the government; in deciding controverſies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Among the reſt, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt; calling it, after his own name, Adrianople. Again returning to Rome, where he ſtayed but a very little time, he travelled a ſecond time into Greece; paſſed over into Aſia Minor; from thence went into Syria, gave laws and inſtructions to all the neighbouring kings, whom he invited to come and conſult with him; he then entered Paleſtine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he cauſed Pompey's tomb, that had been long neglected, and almoſt covered with ſand, to be renewed and beautified. He alſo gave orders for the rebuilding of Jeruſalem; which was performed with great expedition by the aſſiſtance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being reſtored to their long loſt kingdom. But theſe expectations only ſerved to aggravate their calamities; for being incenſed at the privileges which were granted the pagan worſhippers in their new city, they fell upon the Romans and Chriſtians that were diſperſed throughout Judea, and unmerciſully put them all to the ſword. Adrian was at Athens when this dangerous inſurrection began; wherefore, ſending a

powerful body of men, under the command of Julius Severus, againſt them, this general obtained many ſignal, though bloody victories, over the inſurgents. The war was concluded in two years, by the demolition of above a thouſand of their beſt towns; and the deſtruction of near ſix hundred thouſand men in battle.

He then baniſhed all thoſe who remained, out of Judea; and, by a public decree, forbade any to come within view of their native ſoil. This inſurrection was ſoon after followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire; who entering Media with great fury, and paſſing through Armenia, carried their devaſtations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian preferring peace, upon any terms, to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large ſums of money; ſo that they returned peaceably into their native wilds, to enjoy their plunder, and meditate freſh invaſions.

Having ſpent thirteen years in travelling through his dominions, and reforming the abuſes of the empire, he at laſt reſolved to return and end all his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people than his reſolution of coming to reſide, for the reſt of his days, among them: they received him with the loudeſt demonſtrations of joy; and, though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he remitted not the leaſt of his former aſſiduity and application to the public welfare. His chief amuſement was in converſing with the moſt celebrated men in every art and ſcience, frequently boaſting, that he thought no kind of knowledge inconſiderable, or to be neglected, either in his private or public capacity. Adrian was ſo fond of literary fame, that we are told, he wrote his own life, and afterwards gave it to his ſervants to publiſh under their names. But whatever might have been his weakneſs in aiming at univerſal reputation, he was

in

in no part of his reign remiſs, in attending the duties of his exalted ſtation. He ordered the knights and ſenators never to appear in public, but in the proper habits of their orders. He forbade maſters to kill their ſlaves, as had been before allowed; but ordained that they ſhould be tried by the laws enacted againſt capital offences. A law ſo juſt, had he done nothing more, deſerved to have enſured his reputation with poſterity, and to have made him dear to mankind. He ſtill further extended the lenity of the laws to thoſe unhappy men, who had been long thought too mean for juſtice: if a maſter was found killed in his houſe, he would not allow all his ſlaves to be put to the torture as formerly, but only ſuch as might have perceived or prevented the murder.

In ſuch employments he conſumed the greateſt part of of his time, but, at laſt, finding the duties of his ſtation daily encreaſing, and his own ſtrength proportionally upon the decline, he reſolved upon adopting a ſucceſſor. Marcus Antoninus, afterwards ſurnamed the Pious, was the perſon he pitched upon; but previouſly obliged him to adopt two others, namely, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, all of whom afterwards ſucceeded in the empire

While he was thus careful in appointing a ſucceſſor, his bodily infirmities became ſo inſupportable, that he vehemently deſired ſome of his attendants would diſpatch him. Antoninus, however, would by no means permit any of his domeſtics to be guilty of ſo great an impiety, but uſed all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to ſuſtain life. His pains increaſing every day, he was frequently heard to cry out, "How miſerable a thing it is to ſeek death, and not to find it!" In this deplorable exigence, he reſolved on going to Baiæ, where the tortures of his diſeaſe encreaſing, they affected his underſtanding. Continuing, for ſome time, in theſe excruciating circumſtances, he was at laſt reſolved to obſerve

no regimen, often ſaying, that kings died merely by the multitude of their phyſicians. This conduct ſerved to haſten that death he ſeemed ſo ardently to deſire; and it was probably joy upon its approach which dictated the celebrated ſtanzas which are ſo well known, and in repeating which he expired, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age, after a proſperous reign of twenty-one years, and eleven months.

U. C. 891. A. D. 886. Titus Antoninus, his ſucceſſor, was born in the city of Niſmes, in Gaul. His father was a nobleman of an ancient family, that had enjoyed the higheſt honours of the ſtate. At the time of his ſucceeding to the throne, he was above fifty years old, and had paſſed through many of the moſt important offices of the ſtate with great integrity and application. His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation, as he ſhewed himſelf one of the moſt excellent princes for juſtice, clemency, and moderation. His morals were ſo pure, that he was uſually compared to Numa, and was ſurnamed the Pious, both for his tenderneſs to his predeceſſor Adrian, when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large penſions and great honours, drawing them from all parts of the world. Among the reſt, he ſent for Apollonius, the famous ſtoic philoſopher, to inſtruct his adopted ſon, Marcus Aurelius, whom he had previouſly married to his daughter. Apollonius being arrived at Rome, the emperor deſired his attendance; but the other arrogantly anſwered, that it was the ſcholar's duty to wait upon the maſter, and not the maſter's upon the ſcholar. To this reply, Antoninus only returned with a ſmile, "That it was ſurpriſing how Apollonius, "who made no difficulty of coming from Greece

"to

"to Rome, ſhould think it ſo hard to walk from "one part of Rome to another;" and immediately ſent Marcus Aurelius to him. While the good emperor was thus employed, in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example, or reproving their follies with the keenneſs of rebuke, he was ſeized with a violent fever at Lorium, a pleaſure houſe at ſome diſtance from Rome; where, finding himſelf ſenſibly decaying, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their preſence, he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without once naming Lucius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the ſucceſſion; then commanding the golden ſtatue of Fortune, which was always in the chamber of the emperors, to be removed to that of his ſucceſſor, he expired, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, after a proſperous reign of twenty-two years, and almoſt eight months.

Marcus Aurelius, though left ſole ſucceſſor to the throne, took Lucius Verus, as his aſſociate and equal in governing the ſtate. Aurelius was the ſon of Annius Verus, of an ancient and illuſtrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. Lucius Verus was the ſon of Commodus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he ſucceeded to the throne. Aurelius was as remarkable for his virtues and accompliſhments, as his partner in the empire was, for his ungovernable paſſions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greateſt goodneſs and wiſdom; the other, of ignorance, ſloth, and extravagance. U. C. 914. A. D. 161.

The two emperors had been ſcarce ſettled on the throne, when the empire ſeemed attacked on every ſide, from the barbarous nations by which it was ſurrounded. The Catti invaded Germany and Rhætia, ravaging all with fire and ſword; but were, after

ſome time, repelled by Victorinus. The Britains likewiſe revolted, but were repreſſed by Califurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologeſus, made an irruption ſtill more dreadful than either of the former; deſtroying the Roman legions in Armenia; then entering Syria, and driving out the Roman governor, and filling the whole country with terror and confuſion. In order to ſtop the progreſs of this barbarous irruption, Verus himſelf went in perſon, being accompanied by Aurelius part of the way.

Verus, upon entering Antioch, gave an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war, rioting in exceſſes unknown, even to the voluptuous Greeks; leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants, who were ſent to repreſs the enemy. Theſe, however, fought with great ſucceſs; Statius Priſcus took Artazata; Martius put Vologeſus to flight, took Seleucia, plundered and burnt Babylon and Cteſiphon, and demoliſhed the magnificent palace of the kings of Parthia. In a courſe of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely ſubdued it; but upon their return, their army was waſted to leſs than half its former number by peſtilence and famine. However, this was no impediment to the vanity of Verus, who reſolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph, ſo hardly earned by others. Wherefore, having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely ſubdued, he aſſumed the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus; and then returned to Rome, to partake of a triumph with Aurelius, which was accordingly ſolmnized with great pomp and ſplendor.

During the courſe of this expedition, which continued for ſome years, Aurelius was ſedulouſly intent upon diſtributing juſtice and happineſs to his ſubjects at home. He firſt applied himſelf to the regulation

gulation of public affairs, and to the correcting ſuch faults as he found in the laws and policy of the ſtate. In this endeavour, he ſhewed ſingular reſpect for the ſenate, often permitting them to determine without appeal; ſo that the commonwealth ſeemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable adminiſtration. Beſides, ſuch was his application to buſineſs, that he often employed ten days together upon the ſame ſubject, maturely conſidering it on all ſides, and ſeldom departing from the ſenate-houſe till, night coming on, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed by the conſul. But while thus glorioufly occupied, he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague; being repeatedly aſſured of his vanity, lewdneſs, and extravagance. However, feigning himſelf ignorant of the exceſſes, he judged marriage to be the beſt method of reclaiming him; and therefore ſent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a diſpoſition very unlike her father; and, inſtead of correcting her huſband's extravagancies, only contributed to enflame them. Yet Aurelius ſtill hoped, that, upon the return of Verus to Rome, his preſence would keep him in awe, and that happineſs would, at length be reſtored to the ſtate. But in this alſo he was diſappointed. His return only ſeemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia, and diſſeminated the infection through all the provinces through which it paſſed.

Nothing could exceed the miſerable ſtate of the empire, ſhortly after the return of Verus. In this horrid picture, was repreſented an emperor, unawed by example, or the calamities ſurrounding him, giving way to unheard of debaucheries. A raging peſtilence ſpreading terror and deſolation through all

parts of the weſtern world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, ſuch as had never before happened; the products of the earth, throughout all Italy, devoured by locuſts; all the barbarous nations ſurrounding the empire, the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Quaddi, and Marcomanni, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itſelf. The prieſts doing all they could to put a ſtop to the miſeries of the ſtate, by attempting to appeaſe the gods; vowing and offering numberleſs ſacrifices; celebrating all the ſacred rites that had ever been known in Rome; and exhibiting the ſolemnity called Lectiſternia, ſeven days together. To crown the whole, theſe enthuſiaſts, not ſatisfied with the impending calamities, making new, by aſcribing the diſtreſſes of the ſtate to the impieties of the Chriſtians alone; ſo that a violent perſecution was ſeen reigning in all parts of the empire; in which Juſtin Martyr, St. Polycarp, biſhop of Smyrna, and an infinite number of others, ſuffered martyrdom.

In this ſcene of univerſal tumult, deſolation and diſtreſs, there was nothing left but the virtues and the wiſdom of one man alone to reſtore tranquility, and bring back happineſs to the empire. Aurelius began his endeavours by marching againſt the Marcomanni and Quaddi, taking Verus with him, who reluctantly left the ſenſual delights of Rome for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni near the city of Aquileia, and, after a furious engagement, routed their whole army: then purſuing them acroſs the Alps, overcame them in ſeveral conteſts, and, at laſt, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy without any conſiderable loſs. As the winter was far advanced, Verus was determined upon going from Aquileia to Rome, in which journey he

U. C. 922.
A. D. 169.

was

was seized with an apoplexy which put an end to his life, being thirty-nine years old, having reigned in conjunction with Aurelius nine.

Aurelius, who had hitherto sustained the fatigues of governing not only an empire, but his colleague, being left to himself, began to act with greater diligence, and more vigour than ever.

After having subdued the Marcomanni, a barbarous people that had made inroads upon the empire, he returned to Rome, where he began his usual endeavours to benefit mankind by a farther reformation of the internal policy of the state.

But his good endeavours were soon interrupted by a renewal of the former wars. In one of the engagements of which he is said to have been miraculously relieved when his army was perishing with thirst, by the prayers of a christian legion which had been levied in his service. For, at that dreadful juncture, and just as the barbarians were ready to fall upon them, we are assured, there fell such a shower of rain, as instantly refreshed the fainting army. The soldiers were seen holding their mouths and their helmets up to Heaven, and receiving the water which came so wonderfully to their relief. The same clouds also which served for their rescue, at the same time discharged such a terrible storm of hail, accompanied with thunder, against the enemy, as astonished and confounded them. By this unlooked for aid, the Romans recovering strength and courage, once more turned upon their pursuers, and cut them in pieces.

Such are the circumstances of an engagement, acknowledged by pagan, as well as christian writers, only with this difference, that the latter ascribe the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However this be, Aurelius seemed so sensible of miraculous assistance, that he immediately relaxed the persecution against the Christians,

and

and wrote to the ſenate in favour of their religion.

This good emperor having at a time detected one Avidius in a conſpiracy againſt him, and generouſly granting him his pardon, ſome who were near his perſon, took the liberty to blame his conduct, telling him, that Avidius would not have been ſo generous, had he been conqueror: to this, the emperor replied in this ſublime manner, "I never "ſerved the gods ſo ill, or reigned ſo irregularly, "as to fear Avidius could ever be conqueror."

He uſually called Philoſophy his mother, in oppoſition to the Court, which he conſidered as his ſtep-mother. He alſo was frequently heard to ſay, "that the people were happy whoſe philoſophers "were kings, or whoſe kings were philoſophers." He, in fact, was one of the moſt conſiderable men then in being; and though he had been born in the meaneſt ſtation, his merits, as a writer, as his works remain to this day, would have inſured him immortality.

Having thus reſtored proſperity to his ſubjects, and peace to mankind, news was brought him, that the Scythians, and barbarous nations of the North, were up in arms, and invading the empire. He once more, therefore, reſolved, to expoſe his aged perſon in the defence of his country, and made ſpeedy preparations to oppoſe them. He went to the ſenate, for the firſt time, and deſired to have money out of the public treaſury. He then ſpent three whole days in giving the people lectures, by which they might regulate their lives; and, having finiſhed his lectures, departed upon his expedition, amidſt the prayers and lamentations of all his ſubjects. It was upon going to open his third campaign, that he was ſeized with the plague at Vienna, which ſtopped the progreſs of his ſucceſs. Nothing however, could abate

abate his desire of being beneficial to mankind; his fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus, his son and successor, seemed to give him great uneasiness; wherefore, he addressed his friends, and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed; telling them, that as his son was now going to lose a father, he hoped he should find many fathers in them. As he was thus speaking, he was seized with a weakness which stopped his utterance, and which brought him to his end the day following. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years, and some days; and it seemed as if the whole glory and prosperity of the Roman empire died with this greatest of the Roman emperors.

CHAP. XXIV.

From Commodus, to the transferring the seat of the empire under Constantine, from Rome to Byzantium.

[U. C. 933. A. D. 180.]

THE merits of Aurelius procured Commodus an easy accession to the throne. He was acknowledged emperor, first by the army, then by the senate and people, and shortly after by all the provinces.

His whole reign is but a tissue of wantonness and folly, cruelty and injustice, rapacity and corruption. There is so strong a similitude between his conduct, and that of Domitian, that a reader might be apt to imagine he was going over the same reign.

He went with his associates to taverns and brothels; spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable luxuries, having no less than three hundred females, and as many males, for detestable purposes. He committed incest, as Caligula did, with all his sisters. He sometimes went about

about the markets in a frolic, with ſmall wares, as a petty chapman; ſometimes he imitated a horſe-courſer; and, at other times, drove his own chariot in a ſlave's habit; while thoſe he chiefly promoted reſembled himſelf, being the companions of his pleaſures, or the miniſters of his cruelty.

If any perſon deſired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a ſum of money, he was permitted to deſtroy him in ſuch manner as he thought proper. He commanded a perſon to be caſt to the wild beaſts, for reading the life of Caligula in Suetonius. He ordered another to be thrown in a burning furnace, for accidentally over-heating his bath. He would ſometimes, when he was in a good humour, cut off men's noſes, under a pretence of ſhaving their beards; and yet he was himſelf ſo jealous of all mankind, that he was obliged to be his own barber.

At length, upon the feaſt of Janus, reſolving to fence naked before the people, as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonſtrated to him upon the indecency of ſuch a behaviour. Theſe were, Lætus, his general, Electus his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared exceſſively fond. Their advice was attended with no other effect, than that of incenſing him againſt them, and inciting him to reſolve upon their deſtruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to ſet down the names of all ſuch as he intended to put to death, in a roll, which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time, happening to lay the roll on his bed, while he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy, whom he paſſionately loved. The child after playing with it for ſome time, brought it to Marcia, who was inſtantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately diſcovered her terrors to Lætus, and Electus, who perceiving their dangerous ſituation, inſtantly reſolved

ſolved the tyrant's death. After ſome deliberation, it was agreed upon to diſpatch him by poiſon; but this not ſucceeding, Marcia haſtily introduced a young man, called Narciſſus, and prevailed upon him to aſſiſt in ſtrangling the tyrant. Commodus died in the thirty firſt year of his age, after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months.

The ſecrecy and expedition with which Commodus was aſſaſſinated were ſuch, that few were at that time, acquainted with the real circumſtances of his death. His body was wrapped up in a bale of uſeleſs furniture, and carried through the guards, moſt of whom were either drunk or aſleep. U. C. 945. A. D. 192.

Previous to the aſſaſſination, the conſpirators had fixed upon a ſucceſſor. Helvius Pertinax, whoſe virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the moſt exalted ſtation, and who had paſſed through many changes of fortune, was fixed upon to ſucceed him; when, therefore, the conſpirators repaired to his houſe to ſalute him emperor, he conſidered their arrival as a command from the emperor Commodus for his death. Upon Lætus entering his apartment, Pertinax, without any ſhew of fear, cried out, that for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, wondering that the emperor had deferred it ſo long. However, he was not a little ſurpriſed when informed of the real cauſe of their viſit; and being ſtrongly urged to accept of the empire, he, at laſt, complied with their offer.

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and ſoon after the citizens and ſenate conſented; their joy at the election of their new ſovereign being ſcarce equal to that for the death of their tyrant. They then pronounced Commodus a parricide; an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind, and commanded, that his corpſe ſhould rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time, they

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ſaluted Pertinax as emperor and Cæſar, with numerous acclamations, and chearfully took the oaths of obedience. The provinces ſoon after followed the example of Rome; ſo that he began his reign with univerſal ſatisfaction to the whole empire, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age.

Nothing could exceed the juſtice and wiſdom of this monarch's reign, the ſhort time it continued. But the prætorian ſoldiers, whoſe manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profuſion of their former monarch, began to hate him, for the parſimony and diſcipline he had introduced among them. They therefore reſolved to dethrone him; and accordingly, in a tumultuous manner, marched through the ſtreets of Rome, entered his palace without oppoſition, where a Tungrian ſoldier ſtruck him dead with a blow of his lance. From the number of his adventures, he was called the tennis-ball of Fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced ſuch a variety of ſituations with ſo blameleſs a character. He reigned but three months.

U. C. 934. A. D. 192. The ſoldiers, having committed this outrage, made, proclamation, that they would ſell the empire to whoever would purchaſe it at the higheſt price. In conſequence of this proclamation, two bidders were found; namely, Sulpician and Didius. The former, a conſular perſon, præfect of the city, and ſon-in-law to the late emperor Pertinax. The latter, a conſular perſon likewiſe, a great lawyer, and the wealthieſt man in the city. Sulpician had rather promiſes, than treaſure, to beſtow. The offers of Didius, who produced immenſe ſums of ready money, prevailed. He was received into the camp, and the ſoldiers inſtantly ſwore to obey him as emperor.

Upon being conducted to the ſenate-houſe, he addreſſed the few ſenators that were preſent in a very laconic

laconic ſpeech. "Fathers, you want an emperor, "and I am the fitteſt perſon you can chuſe." The choice of the ſoldiers was confirmed by the ſenate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor, now in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age.

It ſhould ſeem by this weak monarch's conduct, when ſeated on the throne, that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleaſure than a toil. Inſtead of attempting to gain the hearts of his ſubjects, he gave himſelf up to eaſe and inactivity, utterly regardleſs of the duties of his ſtation. He was mild and gentle indeed, neither injuring any, nor expecting to be injured. But that avarice, by which he became opulent, ſtill followed him in his exaltation; ſo that the very ſoldiers who elected him, ſoon began to deteſt him for thoſe qualities, ſo very oppoſite to a military character. The people alſo, againſt whoſe conſent he was choſen, were not leſs his enemies. Whenever he iſſued from his palace, they openly poured forth their imprecations againſt him, crying out, that he was a thief, and had ſtolen the empire. Didius, however, in the true ſpirit of a trader, patiently bore all their reproach, ſometimes beckoning to them, with ſmiles, to approach him, and teſtifying his regard by every kind of ſubmiſſion.

Soon after, Severus, an African by birth, being proclaimed by his army, began by promiſing to revenge the death of Pertinax.

Didius, upon being informed of his approach towards Rome, obtained the conſent of the ſenate to ſend him ambaſſadors, offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this offer, conſcious of his own ſtrength, and of the weakneſs of the propoſer. The ſenate ſoon appeared of the ſame ſentiments, and, perceiving the timidity and weakneſs of their preſent maſter abandoned him.

Being

Being called together, as was formerly practiſed in the times of the commonwealth, by the conſuls, they unanimouſly agreed, that Didius ſhould be deprived of the empire, and that Severus ſhould be proclaimed in his ſtead. They commanded Didius to be ſlain, and ſent meſſengers for this purpoſe to the palace, where they found him diſarmed, and diſpatched him, among a few friends, that ſtill adhered to his intereſt.

Severus having overcome Niger and Albinus, who were his competitors for the empire, undertook next the reins of government, uniting great vigour with the moſt refined policy; yet his African cunning, for he was a native of Africa, was conſidered as a particular defect in him. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence; but equally blamed for perfidy and cruelty. In ſhort, he ſeemed equally capable of the greateſt acts of virtue, and the moſt bloody ſeverities.

Upon his return to Rome, he loaded his ſoldiers with rewards and honours, giving them ſuch privileges, as ſtrengthened his own power, while they deſtroyed that of the ſtate. For the ſoldiers, who had hitherto ſhewed the ſtrongeſt inclinations to an abuſe of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of empires.

Being thus ſecure of his army, he reſolved to give way to his natural turn for conqueſt, and to oppoſe his arms againſt the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having, therefore, previouſly given the government of domeſtic policy, to one Plautian, a particular favourite, to whoſe daughter he married his ſon Caracalla, he ſet out for the eaſt, and proſecuted the war with his uſual expedition and ſucceſs. He forced ſubmiſſion from the king of Armenia, deſtroyed ſeveral cities in Arabia Felix, landed on the Parthian coaſts, took

and

and plundered the famous city of Cteſiphon, marched back through Paleſtine and Egypt, and at length returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plautian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began to think of aſpiring to the empire himſelf. Upon the emperor's return, he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was commander, to aſſaſſinate him; as likewiſe his ſon Caracalla. The tribune informed Severus of his favourite's treachery. He at firſt received it as an improbable ſtory, and as the artifice of one who envied his favourite's fortune. However, he was at laſt perſuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plautian to the emperor's apartments, to be a teſtimony againſt himſelf. With this intent, the tribune went and amuſed him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his ſon; deſiring him, if he thought fit to ſee him dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plautian ardently deſired their deaths, he readily gave credit to his relation, and following the tribune, was conducted, at midnight, into the innermoſt receſſes. But what muſt have been his diſappointment, when, inſtead of finding the emperor lying dead, as he expected, he beheld the room lighted up with torches, and Severus, ſurrounded by his friends, prepared in array to receive him. Being aſked by the emperor, with a ſtern countenance, what had brought him there, at that unſeaſonable time; he was, at firſt, utterly confounded, and, not knowing what excuſe to make, he ingenuouſly confeſſed the whole, intreating forgiveneſs for what he had intended. The emperor ſeemed inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, his ſon, who from the earlieſt age, ſhewed a diſpoſition to cruelty, with his ſword ran him through the body.

After this, he ſpent a conſiderable time in viſiting ſome cities in Italy, permitting none of his offi-

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cers to ſell places of truſt and dignity, and diſtributing juſtice with the ſtricteſt impartiality. He then undertook an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being deſtroyed, or compelled to fly the province. Wherefore, after appointing his two ſons Caracalla and Geta, joint ſucceſſors in the empire, and taking them with him, he landed in Britain, to the great terror of ſuch as had drawn down his reſentment. Upon his progreſs into the country, he left his ſon Geta in the ſouthern part of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched with his ſon Caracalla, againſt the Caledonians. In this expedition, his army ſuffered prodigious hardſhips in purſuing the enemy; they were obliged to hew their way through intricate foreſts, to drain extenſive marſhes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; ſo that he loſt fifty thouſand men by fatigue and ſickneſs. However, he ſupported all theſe inconveniences, with unrelenting bravery; and proſecuted his ſucceſſes with ſuch vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for peace; which they obtained, not without the ſurrender of a conſiderable part of their country. It was there, that for its better ſecurity, he built that famous wall, which ſtill goes by his name, extending from Solway Frith, on the weſt, to the German ocean on the eaſt. He did not long ſurvive his ſucceſſes here, but died at York, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, after an active though cruel reign, of about eighteen years.

U. C. 964. A. D. 211. Caracalla and Geta, his ſons, being acknowledged as emperors by the army began to ſhew a mutual hatred to each other, even before their arrival at Rome. But this oppoſition was of no long continuance; for Caracalla being reſolved to govern alone, furiouſly entered Geta's apartment; and, followed by ruffians, ſlew him in his mother's arms.

Being

Being thus emperor, he went on to mark his courſe with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian or Nero, fell ſhort of this monſter's barbarities.

His tyrannies, at length, excited the reſentment of Macrinus, the commander of the forces in Meſopotamia, who employed one Martial, a man of great ſtrength, and a centurion of the guards, to diſpatch him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day, near a little city, called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himſelf privately, upon a natural occaſion, with only one page to hold his horſe. This was the opportunity Martial had ſo long and ardently deſired; wherefore running to him haſtily, as if he had been called, he ſtabbed the emperor in the back, ſo that he died immediately. Having performed this hardy attempt, he then, unconcernedly, returned to his troop; but retiring, by inſenſible degrees, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by flight. But his companions ſoon miſſing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was purſued by the German horſe, and cut in pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued ſix years, the empire was every day declining; the ſoldiers were entirely maſters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, ſo there were as many intereſts all oppoſite to each other.

The ſoldiers, without an emperor, after a ſuſpence of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who took all poſſible methods to conceal his being privy to Caracalla's murder. The ſenate confirmed their choice ſhortly after; and likewiſe that of his ſon Diadumenos, whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was fifty-three years old when he entered upon the government of the empire. He was of obſcure parentage; ſome ſay, by birth a Moor, who, by the mere rotation of office, being made firſt præfect of the prætorian

U. C. 970.
A. D. 217.

toriand bands, was now, by treaſon and accident called to fill the throne.

He was oppoſed by the intrigues of Moſa and her grandſon, Heliogabalus, and being conquered by ſome ſeditious legions of his own army, he fled to Chalcedon, where thoſe that were ſent in purſuit, overtook, and put him to death, together with his ſon Diadumenus, after a ſhort reign of one year and two months.

U. C. 971. A. D. 218. The ſenate and citizens of Rome being obliged to ſubmit to the appointment of the army, as uſual, Heliogabalus aſcended the throne, at the age of fourteen. His ſhort life is but a tiſſue of effeminacy, luſt, and extravagance. He married, in the ſmall ſpace of four years, ſix wives, and divorced them all. He was ſo fond of the ſex, that he carried his mother with him to the ſenate-houſe, and demanded that ſhe ſhould always be preſent when matters of importance were debated. He even went ſo far as to build a ſenate-houſe for women, with ſuitable orders, habits, and diſtinctions, of which his mother was made preſident. They met ſeveral times; all their debates turning upon the faſhions of the day, and the different formalities to be uſed at giving and receiving viſits. To theſe follies, he added great cruelty, and boundleſs prodigality; ſo that he was heard to ſay, that ſuch diſhes as were cheaply obtained, were not worth eating. It is even ſaid, he ſtrove to foretell what was to happen, by inſpecting the entrails of young men ſacrificed; and that he choſe the moſt beautiful youths throughout Italy, to be ſlain for that horrid purpoſe.

However, his ſoldiers mutinying, as was now uſual with them; they followed him to his palace, purſuing him from apartment to apartment, till at laſt he was found concealed in a privy. Having dragged him from thence through the ſtreets, with the

the moſt bitter invectives, and having diſpatched him, they attempted once more to ſqueeze his pampered body into a privy; but not eaſily effecting this they threw it into the Tyber, with heavy weights, that none might find it afterwards, or give it burial. This was the ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a deteſtable reign of four years.

To him ſucceeded Alexander, his couſin-german, who without oppoſition, being declared emperor, the ſenate with their uſual adulation, were for conferring new titles upon him, but he modeſtly declined them all. To the moſt rigid juſtice, he added the greateſt humanity. He loved the good, and was a ſevere reprover of the lewd and infamous. His accompliſhments were equal to his virtues. He was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and muſician; he was equally ſkilful in painting and ſculpture; and in poetry, few of his time could equal him. In ſhort, ſuch were his talents, and ſuch the ſolidity of his judgment, that though but ſixteen years of age, he was conſidered as a wiſe old man. U. C. 975. A. D. 222.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the Upper Germans, and other northern nations, began to pour down immenſe ſwarms of people upon the more ſouthern parts of the empire. They paſſed the Rhine and Danube with ſuch fury, that all Italy was thrown into the moſt extreme conſternation. The emperor, ever ready to expoſe his perſon, for the ſafety of his people, made what levies he could, and went in perſon to ſtem the torrent, which he ſpeedily effected. It was in the courſe of his ſucceſſes againſt the enemy, that he was cut off by a mutiny among his own ſoldiers. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a proſperous reign of thirteen years and nine days.

The

U. C. 988. A. D. 235. The tumults occaſioned by the death of Alexander, being appeaſed, Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of the ſedition, was choſen emperor. This extraordinary man, whoſe character deſerves particular attention, was born of very obſcure parentage, being the ſon a poor herdſman of Thrace. In the beginning he followed his father's humble profeſſion, and only exerciſed his perſonal courage againſt the robbers who infeſted that part of the country, in which he lived. Soon after, his ambition increaſing, he left his poor employment, and enliſted in the Roman army, where he ſoon became remarkable for his great ſtrength, diſcipline, and courage. This gigantic man was no leſs than eight feet and an half high; he had a body and ſtrength correſponding to his ſize, being not leſs remarkable for the magnitude, than the ſymmetry of his perſon. His wife's bracelet uſually ſerved him for a thumb ring; and his ſtrength was ſo great, that he was able to draw a carriage which two oxen could not move. He could ſtrike out a horſe's teeth, with a blow of his fiſt; and break its thigh with a kick. His diet was as extraordinary as the reſt of his endowments: he generally eat forty pounds weight of fleſh every day, and drank ſix gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame ſo athletic, he was poſſeſſed of a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing nor regarding any man. The firſt time he was made known was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth day of his ſon Geta. He overcame ſixteen in running, one after the other: he then kept up with the emperor on horſeback; and having fatigued him in the courſe, he was oppoſed to ſeven of the moſt active ſoldiers, and overcame them with the greateſt eaſe. From that time he was particularly noticed, and taken into the emperor's body guard, and by the

the uſual gradations of preferment came to be chief commander, equally remarkable for his ſimplicity, diſcipline, and virtue; and upon coming to the empire he was found to be one of the greateſt monſters of cruelty that ever diſgraced power; and, fearful of nothing himſelf, he ſeemed to ſport with the terrors of all mankind.

However, his cruelties did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with a ſpirit becoming a better monarch. He overthrew the Germans in ſeveral battles, waſted all their country with fire and ſword for four hundred miles together, and ſet a reſolution of ſubduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In theſe expeditions, in order to attach the ſoldiers more firmly to him, he encreaſed their pay; and in every duty of the camp, he himſelf took as much pains as the meaneſt centinel in his army, ſhewing incredible courage and aſſiduity. In every engagement, wherever the conflict was hotteſt, Maximin was always ſeen fighting there in perſon, and deſtroying all before him: for, being bred a barbarian, he conſidered it as his duty to combat as a common ſoldier, while he commanded as a general.

In the mean time, his cruelties had ſo alienated the minds of his ſubjects, that ſeveral conſpiracies were ſecretly aimed againſt him. None of them however ſucceeded, till at laſt his own ſoldiers being long harraſſed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolts on every ſide, reſolved to terminate their calamities by the tyrant's death. His great ſtrength, and his being always armed, were, at firſt, the principal motives to deter any from aſſaſſinating him; but at length having made his guards accomplices in their deſign, they ſet upon him, while he ſlept at noon in his tent, and ſlew both him and his ſon, whom he had made his partner in the empire, without any oppoſition. Thus died this moſt remarkable

man, after an uſurpation of about three years, and in the ſixty fifth year of his age. His aſſiduity when in humble ſtation, and his cruelty when in power, ſerve very well to evince, that there are ſome men, whoſe virtues are fitted for obſcurity; as there are others, who only ſhew themſelves great, when placed in an exalted ſtation.

U.C.991. A.D.238. The tyrant being dead, and his body thrown to dogs and birds of prey, Pupienus and Balbinus continued for ſome time emperors without oppoſition.

But differing among themſelves, the prætorian ſoldiers, who were the enemies of both, ſet upon them in their palace, at a time when their guards were amuſed with ſeeing the Capitoline games, and dragging them from the palace towards the camp, ſlew them both, leaving their dead bodies in the ſtreets, as a dreadful inſtance of their ſedition.

U.C.991. A.D.238. In the midſt of this ſedition, as the mutineers were proceeding along, they, by accident, met Gordian, the grandſon of him who was ſlain in Africa, whom they declared emperor on the ſpot. This prince was but ſixteen years old when he began his reign, but his virtues ſeemed to compenſate for his want of experience. His principal aims were, to unite the oppoſing members of the government, and to reconcile the ſoldiers and citizens to each other.

The army, however, began, as uſual, to murmur, and their complaints were artfully fomented by Philip an Arabian, who was prætorian præfect. Things thus proceeding from bad to worſe, Philip was, at firſt, made equal in the command of the empire; ſhortly after, he was inveſted with the ſole power, and, at length, finding himſelf capable of perpetrating his long meditated cruelty, Gordian was, by his order, ſlain, in the twenty ſecond year of his age, after a ſucceſsful reign of near ſix years.

Philip,

Philip, having thus murdered his benefactor, was so fortunate as to be immediately acknowledged emperor by the army. Upon his exaltation, he associated his son, a boy of six years of age, as his partner in the empire; and, in order to secure his power at home, made peace with the Persians, and marched his army towards Rome. However, the army revolting in favour of Decius, his general, and setting violently upon him, one of the centinels, at a blow cut off his head, or rather cleaved it asunder, separating the under jaw from the upper. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years; Decius being universally acknowledged as his successor. U. C. 996. A. D. 243.

The activity and wisdom of Decius seemed, in some measure, to stop the hastening decline of the Roman empire. The senate seemed to think so highly of his merits, that they voted him not inferior to Trajan; and indeed he seemed, in every instance, to consult their dignity in particular, and the welfare of all the inferior ranks of people. U. C. 1001. A. D. 248.

But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfall of the state: the obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, infeebled it beyond the power of remedy. He was killed in an ambuscade of the enemy in the fiftieth year of his age, after a short reign of two years and six months.

Gallus, who had betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat; he was forty five years old when he began to reign, and was decended from an honourable family in Rome. He was the first who bought a dishonourable peace from the enemies of U.C. 1004. A.D. 251.

the ſtate, agreeing to pay a conſiderable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repreſs.

He was regardleſs of every national calamity, and loſt to debauch and ſenſuality. The pagans were allowed a power of perſecuting the Chriſtians through all parts of the ſtate. Theſe calamities were ſucceeded by a peſtilence from Heaven, that ſeemed to have in general ſpread over every part of the earth, and which continued raging for ſeveral years, in an unheard of manner; and all theſe by a civil war, which followed ſhortly after, between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor by his conquering army. Gallus hearing this, ſoon rouſed from the intoxications of pleaſure, and prepared to oppoſe his dangerous rival; he with his ſon were ſlain by Æmilianus, in a battle fought in Mæſia. His death was merited, and his vices were ſuch as to deſerve the deteſtation of poſterity. He died in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months, in which the empire ſuffered inexpreſſible calamities.

U.C. 1006. A.D. 253. The ſenate refuſed to acknowledge the claims of Æmilianus: and an army that was ſtationed near the Alps, choſe Valerian, their own commander, to ſucceed to the throne, who ſet about reforming the ſtate with a ſpirit that ſemed to mark a good mind and unabated vigour. But reformation was then grown almoſt impracticable. The Perſians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and coming into Meſopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian priſoner, as he was making preparations to oppoſe them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties, which were practiſed upon this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always uſed him as a footſtool for mounting his horſe: he added the bitterneſs of ridicule to his inſults,

ſults, and uſually obſerved, that an attitude like that to which Valerian was reduced, was the beſt ſtatue that could be erected in honour of his victory. This horrid life of inſult and ſufferance continued for ſeven years; and was, at length, terminated, by the cruel Perſian's commanding his priſoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards cauſing him to be flead alive.

Valerian being taken priſoner, as hath been juſt mentioned, Galienus, his ſon, promiſing to revenge the inſult, was choſen emperor, being then about forty-one years old. However he ſoon diſcovered that he ſought rather the ſplendors, than the toils, of empire; for after having overthrown Ingenuus, a commander in Pannonia, who had aſſumed the title of emperor, he ſat down, as if fatigued with conqueſt, and gave himſelf up to eaſe and luxury. U.C. 1012. A.D. 259.

It was at this time, that no leſs than thirty pretenders were ſeen contending with each other for the dominion of the ſtate, and adding the calamities of civil war, to the reſt of the misfortunes of this devoted empire. Theſe are generally known in hiſtory by the name of the Thirty Tyrants.

In this general calamity, Galienus, though at firſt ſeemingly inſenſible, was, at length, obliged, for his own private ſecurity, to take the field, and led an army to beſiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the thirty uſurping tyrants. It was there he was ſlain by his own ſoldiers, Martian, one of his generals, having conſpired againſt him.

Flavius Claudius being nominated to ſucceed, he was joyfully accepted by all orders of the ſtate, and his title confirmed by the ſenate and the people. We are not ſufficiently aſſured of this emperor's lineage and country. Some affirm that he was born in Dalmatia, U.C. 1021. A.D. 268.

and deſcended from an ancient family there; others aſſert, that he was a Trojan; and others, ſtill, that he was ſon to the emperor Gordian. But whatever might have been his deſcent, his merits were by no means doubtful. He was a man of great valour and conduct, having performed the moſt excellent ſervices againſt the Goths, who had long continued to make their irruptions into the empire; but on his march againſt the barbarous people, as he approached near the city Sirmium, in Pannonia, he was ſeized with a peſtilential fever, of which he died in a few days to the great regret of his ſubjects, and the irreparable loſs of the Roman empire.

U. C. 1023. A. D. 270. Upon the death of Claudius, Aurelian was univerſally acknowledged by all the ſtates of the empire, and aſſumed the command with a greater ſhare of power than his predeceſſors had enjoyed for ſome time before. This active monarch was born of mean and obſcure parentage in Dacia, and was about fifty-five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had ſpent the early part of his life in the army, and had riſen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unſhaken courage and amazing ſtrength; he, in one ſingle engagement, killed forty of the enemy with his own hand, and above nine hundred at ſeveral different times. In ſhort, his valour and expedition were ſuch, that he was compared to Julius Cæſar; and, in fact, only wanted mildneſs and clemency to be every way his equal.

Among the number of thoſe who were compelled to ſubmit to his power, we may reckon the famous Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. He ſubdued her country, deſtroyed her city, and took her priſoner. Longinus, the celebrated critic, who was ſecretary to the queen, was by Aurelian's order put to death. Zenobia was reſerved to grace his triumph, and afterwards allotted ſuch lands, and ſuch an income,

come, as ſerved to maintain her in almoſt her former ſplendor.

His ſeverities at laſt, were the cauſe of his deſtruction. Meneſtheus, his principal ſecretary, having been threatened by him, for ſome fault, which he had committed, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and as the emperor paſſed, with a ſmall guard, from Uraclea, in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conſpirators ſet upon him at once, and ſlew him with very ſmall reſiſtance. He was ſlain in the ſixtieth, or, as ſome ſay, the ſixty-third year of his age, after a very active reign of almoſt five years.

After ſome time, the ſenate made choice of Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious of the honours that were offered him, being at that time ſeventy-five years old. U. C. 1028. A. D. 275.

A reign begun with much moderation and juſtice, only wanted continuance, to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the empire about ſix months, he died of a fever in his march to oppoſe the Perſians and Scythians, who had invaded the eaſtern parts of the empire.

During this ſhort period, the ſenate ſeemed to have a large ſhare of authority, and the hiſtorians of the times are one and all liberal of their praiſes, to ſuch emperors as were thus willing to divide their power.

Upon the death of Tacitus, the whole army, as if by common conſent, cried out that Probus ſhould be emperor. He was forty four years old when he aſcended the throne; was born of noble parentage at Sirmium in Pannonia, and bred up a ſoldier from his youth. He began early to diſtinguiſh himſelf for his diſcipline and valour; being frequently the firſt man that, in beſieging towns, ſcaled the walls, or that burſt into the enemy's camp. He was equally remarkable for ſingle combats, and ſaving

the lives of many eminent citizens. Nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, leſs apparent than in his private ſtation. Every year now produced only new calamities to the empire; and freſh irruptions on every ſide threatened univerſal deſolation: perhaps at this time, no abilities except thoſe of Probus, were capable of oppoſing ſuch united invaſions.

However, in the end, his own mutinous ſoldiers taking their opportunity, as he was marching into Greece, ſet upon, and ſlew him, after he had reigned ſix years and four months, with general approbation

U. C. 1035. A. D. 283. Carus, who was prætorian præfect to the deceaſed emperor, was choſen by the army to ſucceed him; and he, to ſtrengthen his authority, united his two ſons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command; the former of whom was as much ſullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modeſty, and courage. Carus was, ſhortly after his exaltation ſtruck dead, by lightning in his tent, with many others that were round him.

Numerian, the younger ſon, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconſolable for his death, and brought ſuch a diſorder upon his eyes, with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, ſhut up in a cloſe litter. The peculiarity of his ſituation, after ſome time, excited the ambition of Aſper, his father-in-law, who ſuppoſed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himſelf. He, therefore, hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his litter; and, the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was ſtill alive, but unable to endure the light. The offenſiveneſs, however, of its ſmell, at length, diſcovered the treachery, and excited an univerſal uproar throughout the whole army. In the midſt

midſt of this tumult, Diocleſian, one of the moſt noted commanders of his time, was choſen emperor, and with his own hand ſlew Aſper; having thus, as it is ſaid, fulfilled a prophecy, which had ſaid that Diocleſian ſhould be emperor after he had ſlain a Boar.

Carinus, the remaining ſon, did not long ſurvive his father and brother.

Diocleſian was a perſon of mean birth; being ſuppoſed to be, according to ſome, the ſon of a ſcrivener; and of a ſlave, according to others. He received his name from Dioclea, the town in which he was born, being about forty years old when he was elected to the empire. He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit; having paſſed through all the gradations of office, with ſagacity, courage, and ſucceſs. U. C. 1037. A. D. 284.

In his time the northern hive, as it was called, poured down their ſwarms of barbarians upon the Roman empire. Ever at war with the Romans, they iſſued when the armies that were to repreſs their invaſions, were called away, ; and upon their return, they as ſuddenly withdrew into their cold barren, and inacceſſible retreats, which only themſelves could endure. In this manner, the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carſii, and Quadi, came down in incredible numbers, while every defeat ſeemed but to encreaſe their ſtrength and perſeverance. After gaining many victories over theſe, and in the midſt of his triumph, Diocleſian and Maximian, his partner in the empire, ſurpriſed the world by reſigning their dignities on the ſame day, and both retiring into private ſtations. In this contented manner Diocleſian lived for ſome time, and at laſt died either by poiſon or madneſs, but this is uncertain. His reign, which continued twenty years, was active and uſeful; and his authority which was tinctured

with ſeverity, was well adapted to the depraved ſtate of morals at that time.

U. C. 1057. A. D. 304. Upon the reſignation of the two emperors, the two Cæſars whom they had before choſen, were univerſally acknowledged as their ſucceſſors, namely, Conſtantius Chlorus, who was ſo called from the paleneſs of his complexion, being virtuous, valiant, and merciful, and Galerius, who was brave, but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was ſuch diſparity in their tempers, they readily agreed, upon coming into full power, to divide the empire; Conſtantius being appointed to govern the weſtern parts.

Conſtantius died in Britain, appointing Conſtantine his ſon, as his ſucceſſor. Galerius was ſeized with a very extraordinary diſorder in his privities, which baffled all the ſkill of his phyſicians, and carried him off, after he had languiſhed in torments for near the ſpace of a year.

U. C. 1064. A. D. 311. Conſtantine, afterwards ſurnamed the Great, had ſome competitors at firſt for the throne. Among the reſt was Maxentius, who was at that time in poſſeſſion of Rome, and a ſtedfaſt aſſertor of paganiſm. It was in Conſtantine's march againſt that uſurper, that we are aſſured he was converted to Chriſtianity by a very extraordinary appearance. One evening, as we are told, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Conſtantine was taken up with various conſiderations upon the fate of ſublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition: ſenſible of his own incapacity to ſucceed without divine aſſiſtance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions that were chiefly agitated among mankind, and ſent up his ejaculations to Heaven to inſpire him with wiſdom to chuſe the path to purſue. It was then, as the ſun was declining, that there ſuddenly appeared a pillar

of

of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross, with this inscription ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this overcome*. So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment both in the emperor and his whole army, who considered it as their various dispositions led them to believe. Those who were attached to paganism, prompted by their aruspices, pronounced it to be a most inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events: but it made a different impression on the emperor's mind: who, as the account goes, was farther encouraged by visions the same night. He therefore, the day following, caused a royal standard to be made, like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. After this, he consulted with several of the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion.

Constantine having thus attached his soldiers to his interest, who were mostly of the Christian persuasion, lost no time in entering Italy, with ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; and soon advanced almost to the very gates of Rome. Maxentius advanced from the city, with an army of an hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. The engagement was for some time, fierce and bloody, till his cavalry being routed, victory declared upon the side of his opponent, and he himself was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the Tiber.

Constantine, in consequence of this victory, entering the city, disclaimed all praises which the senate and people were ready to offer; ascribing his success to a superior power. He even caused the cross, which he was said to have seen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his statues, with this inscription, "That under the influence of that victorious

"torious

" torious croſs, Conſtantine had delivered the city " from the yoke of tyrannical power, and had re- " ſtored the ſenate and people of Rome to their an- " cient authority." He afterwards ordained that no criminal ſhould, for the future, ſuffer death by the croſs, which had formerly been the moſt uſual way of puniſhing ſlaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were ſoon after iſſued, declaring that the Chriſtians ſhould be eaſed from all their grievances, and received into places of truſt and authority

Things continued in this ſtate for ſome time, Conſtantine contributing what was in his power to the intereſt of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almoſt wholly extinct in the empire. But in the midſt of theſe aſſiduities, the peace of the empire was again diſturbed by the preparations of Maximin, who governed in the Eaſt; and who, deſirous of a full participation of power, marched againſt Licinius, with a very numerous army. In conſequence of this ſtep, after many conflicts, a general engagement enſued, in which Maximin ſuffered a total defeat: many of his troops were cut to pieces, and thoſe that ſurvived ſubmitted to the conqueror. Having, however, eſcaped the general carnage, he once more put himſelf at the head of another army, reſolving to try the fortune of the field; but his death prevented the deſign. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madneſs, the Chriſtians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to aſcribe his end to a judgment from Heaven; but this was the age in which falſe judgments and falſe miracles, made up the bulk of uninſtructive hiſtory.

Conſtantine and Licinius thus remaining undiſputed poſſeſſors and partners in the empire, all things promiſed a peaceable continuance of friendſhip and power. However, it was ſoon found, that the ſame ambition that aimed after a part, would be content with

with nothing leſs than the whole. Pagan writers aſcribe the rupture, between theſe two potentates to Conſtantine; while the Chriſtians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both ſides exerted all their power to make oppoſition; and, at the head of very formidable armies, came to an engagement near Cybalis, in Pannonia. Conſtantine, previous to the battle, in the midſt of his Chriſtian biſhops, begged the aſſiſtance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the pagan prieſts to intercede with the gods in his favour. The ſucceſs was on the ſide of truth: Conſtantine, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, became victorious; took the enemy's camp; and, after ſome time compelled Licinius to ſue for a truce, which was agreed upon. But this was of no long continuance; for ſoon after the war breaking out afreſh, and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved deciſive. Licinius was entirely defeated, and purſued by Conſtantine into Nicomedia, where he ſurrendered himſelf up to the victor; having firſt obtained an oath that his life ſhould be ſpared, and that he ſhould be permitted to paſs the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Conſtantine ſhortly after broke; for either fearing his deſigns, or finding him actually engaged in freſh conſpiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian, his general, who, ſome time before, had been created Cæſar.

Conſtantine being thus ſole monarch of the empire, reſolved to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity on ſo ſure a baſis, that no new revolutions ſhould ſhake it. He commanded that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the biſhops ſhould be exactly obeyed. He called alſo a general council of theſe, in order to repreſs the hereſies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this place repaired about three hundred and eighteen biſhops, beſides

beſides a multitude of preſbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himſelf; who all, except about ſeventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this hereſiarch, with his aſſociates, was baniſhed into a remote part of the empire.

Having thus reſtored univerſal tranquility to the empire, he was not able to ward off the calamities of a more domeſtic nature. As the wretched hiſtories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not eaſy to tell the motives which induced him to put his wife Fauſta and his ſon Criſpus to death. The moſt plauſible account is this. Fauſta, the empreſs, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant deſires, had long, though ſecretly, loved Criſpus, Conſtantine's ſon by a former wife. She had tried every art to inſpire this youth with a mutual paſſion; and finding her more diſtant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confeſſion of her deſires. This produced an explanation, which was fatal to both. Criſpus received her addreſſes with deteſtation; and ſhe, to be revenged, accuſed him to the emperor. Conſtantine, fired at once with jealouſy and rage, ordered him to die without an hearing, nor did his innocence appear till it was too late for redreſs. The only reparation therefore that remained, was the putting Fauſta, the wicked inſtrument of his former cruelty, to death; which was accordingly executed upon her, together with ſome others, who had been accomplices in her falſhood and treachery.

But it is ſuppoſed that all the good he did was not equal to recompenſe the evil the empire ſuſtained by his transferring the ſeat of it from Rome to Byzantium, or Conſtantinople, as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reaſons which induced him to this undertaking; whether it was becauſe he was offended at ſome affronts he had

had received at Rome, or that he ſuppoſed Conſtantinople more in the centre of the empire; or that he thought the eaſtern parts more required his preſence; experience has ſhewn that they were all weak and groundleſs. The empire had long before been in a moſt declining ſtate; but this, in a great meaſure, gave precipitation to its downfal. After this it never reſumed its former ſplendor, but, like a flower tranſplanted into a foreign clime, languiſhed by degrees, and at length ſunk into nothing.

His firſt deſign was to build a city, which he might make the capital of the world; and for this purpoſe, he made choice of a ſituation at Chalcedon in Aſia Minor; but we are told, that in laying out the ground plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city, which lay upon the oppoſite ſide of the Boſphorus Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the ſeat of empire; and, indeed, nature ſeemed to have formed it with all the conveniences, and all the beauties, which might induce power to make it the ſeat of reſidence. It was ſituated on a plain that roſe gently from the water: it commanded that ſtreight which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine ſea, and was furniſhed with all the advantages which the moſt indulgent climate could beſtow. This city, therefore, he beautified with the moſt magnificent edifices: he divided it into fourteen regions; built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, and other public works; and, having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it in a very ſolemn manner to the God of martyrs; and in about two years after repaired thither with his whole court. U. C. 1084. A. D. 330.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire; the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, ſubmitted to the change;

change; nor was there for two or three years any diſturbance in the ſtate, until, at length, the Goths finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garriſons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard of cruelty. Conſtantine, however, ſoon repreſt their incurſions, and ſo ſtraitened them, that near an hundred thouſand of their number periſhed by cold and hunger.

Another great error aſcribed to him is the dividing the empire among his ſons. Conſtantine, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, commanded in Gaul, and the weſtern provinces; Conſtantius, his ſecond, governed Africa and Illyricum; and Conſtans, the youngeſt, ruled in Italy. This diviſion of the empire ſtill farther contributed to its downfal; for the united ſtrength of the ſtate being no longer brought to repreſs invaſion, the barbarians fought with ſuperior numbers, and conquered at laſt, though often defeated. Conſtantine was above ſixty years old, and had reigned above thirty, when he found his health began to decline. His diſorder, which was an ague, encreaſing, he went to Nicomedia, where finding himſelf without hopes of a recovery, he cauſed himſelf to be baptized; and, having ſoon after received the ſacrament, he expired after a memorable and active reign of almoſt thirty-two years.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the deſtruction of the ROMAN EMPIRE, after the death of Conſtantine, and the events which haſtened its cataſtrophe.

FROM this dreary period the recovery of the empire was become deſperate, no wiſdom could obiate its decadence, no courage oppoſe the evils that

that ſurrounded it on every ſide. Were we to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of thoſe times, it ſhould be rather of the conquerors, not the conquered; of thoſe Gothic chiefs who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conqueſt of nations corrupted by vice and enervated by luxury.

Theſe barbarians were at firſt unknown to the Romans, and for ſome time after had been only incommodious to them. But they were now become formidable, and aroſe in ſuch numbers, that the earth ſeemed to produce a new race of mankind, to complete the empire's deſtruction. They had been increaſing in their hideous deſerts, amidſt regions frightful with eternal ſnows, and had long only waited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Againſt ſuch an enemy no courage could avail, nor abilities be ſucceſsful; a victory only cut off numbers without an habitation, and a name, ſoon to be ſucceeded by others equally deſperate and obſcure.

The emperors who had to contend with this people, were moſt of them furniſhed neither with courage nor conduct to oppoſe. Their reſidence in Aſia ſeemed to enervate their manners, and produced a deſire in them to be adored like the monarchs of the Eaſt. Sunk in ſoftneſs, they ſhewed themſelves with leſs frequency to the ſoldiers, they became more indolent, fonder of domeſtic pleaſures, and more abſtracted from the empire. Conſtantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unſucceſsful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives; and unfit to prop the falling empire. Julian, his ſucceſſor, ſurnamed the Apoſtate, upon account of his relapſing into paganiſm, was, notwithſtanding, a very good and a very valiant prince. He, by his wiſdom, conduct, and œconomy,

nomy, chaſed the barbarians, that had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their new ſettlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which laſted but two years. Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and ſtrength ſufficient to preſerve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian; the former emperors had drained away all the frontier garriſons, merely to ſtrengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine; making levies, raiſing caſtles, placing troops in proper ſtations, and furniſhing them with ſubſiſtence for their ſupport; but an event, that no human prudence could foreſee, brought up a new enemy to aſſiſt in the univerſal deſtruction.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucaſus and the Caſpian ſea, was inhabited by a numerous ſavage people, that went by the name of the Huns and Allanes. Their ſoil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. As they imagined it impracticable to croſs the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, ſo that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had aſſigned them, while other nations plundered with ſecurity. It has been the opinion of ſome. that the ſlime which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais, had, by degrees, formed a kind of incruſtation on the ſurface of the Cimmærian Boſphorus, over which thoſe people are ſuppoſed to have paſſed. Others relate that two young Scythians, being in full purſuit of an heifer, the terrified creature, ſwam over an arm of the ſea, and the youths immediately following her, found themſelves in a new world, upon the oppoſite ſhore.

ſhore. Upon their return, they did not fail to relate the wonders of the ſtrange lands and countries, which they had diſcovered. Upon their information, an innumerable body of Huns paſſed thoſe ſtreights, and meeting firſt with the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths, in conſternation, preſented themſelves on the banks of the Danube, and, with a ſuppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they eaſily obtained from Valens, who aſſigned them ſeveral portions of land in Thrace, but left them deſtitute of all needful ſupplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and reſentment, they ſoon after roſe againſt their protectors, and, in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they deſtroyed Valens himſelf, and the greateſt part of his army.

It was in this manner the Roman armies grew weaker; ſo that the emperors, finding it difficult, at laſt, to raiſe levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppoſe another. This expedient had its uſe in circumſtances of immediate danger; but when that was over, the Romans found it was as difficult to rid themſelves of their new allies, as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invaſion, but ſunk gradually under the weight of ſeveral attacks made upon it on every ſide. When the barbarians had waſted one province, thoſe who ſucceeded the firſt ſpoilers, proceeded on to another. Their devaſtations were at firſt limited to Thrace, Myſia, and Pannonia; but whence theſe countries were ruined, they deſtroyed Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Greece; and from thence they expatiated to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually ſhrinking, and Italy, at laſt, became the frontier of its own dominion.

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The valour and conduct of Theodoſius, in ſome meaſure, retarded the deſtruction that had begun in the time of Valens, but upon his death the enemy became irreſiſtible. A large body of Goths had been called in to aſſiſt the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but what was brought in to ſtop the univerſal decline proved the moſt mortal ſtab to its ſecurity. This Gothic prince, who is repreſented as brave, impetuous, and enterprizing, perceiving the weakneſs of the ſtate, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the ſucceſſors of Theodoſius, were able to ſecure it; being inſtigated alſo, ſtill farther, by the artifices of one Rufinus, who had deſigns upon the throne himſelf; this warlike prince, I ſay, putting himſelf at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war againſt his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for ſome years with various ſucceſs. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new ſupplies from his native foreſts; and, at length, putting his mighty deſigns in execution, paſſed the Alps, and poured down, like a torrent, among the fruitful vallies of Italy. This charming region had long been the ſeat of indolence and ſenſual delight; its fields were now turned into gardens of pleaſure, that only ſerved to enervate the poſſeſſors, from having once been a nurſery of military ſtrength, that furniſhed ſoldiers for the conqueſt of mankind. The timid inhabitants, therefore, beheld, with terror, a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midſt of their country, while their wretched emperor, Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, ſtill only ſeemed reſolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuſe any accommodation. But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, that had long ſat as miſtreſs of the world, now ſaw herſelf beſieged

by

by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of peſtilence and famine, to a moſt deplorable ſituation. In this extremity the ſenate diſpatched their ambaſſadors to Alaric, deſiring him either to grant them peace upon reaſonable terms, or to give them leave to fight it with him, in the open field. To this meſſage, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burſt of laughter, "that thick graſs was eaſier cut than thin:" implying, that their troops, when cooped up within the narrow compaſs of the city, would be more eaſily overcome, than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about a peace, he demanded all their riches, and all their ſlaves. When he was aſked, "what then he would leave them; he ſternly replied, "their lives." Theſe were hard conditions for ſuch a celebrated city to accept; but, compelled by the neceſſity of the times, they raiſed an immenſe treaſure, both by taxation and ſtripping the heathen temples; and thus, at length, bought off their fierce invader. But this was but a temporary removal of the calamity; for Alaric now finding that he might become maſter of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army, a ſhort time after; preſſed it more cloſely than he had done before, and at laſt took it; but whether by force or ſtratagem, is not agreed among hiſtorians. Thus, U. C. 1163. A. D. 410. that city which for ages had plundered the reſt of the world, and enriched herſelf with the ſpoils of mankind, now felt, in turn, the ſad reverſe of fortune, and ſuffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The ſoldiers had free liberty to pillage all places except the Chriſtian churches; and, in the midſt of this horrible deſolation, ſo great was the reverence of the barbarians for our holy

holy religion, that the pagan Romans found ſafety in applying to thoſe of the Chriſtian perſuaſion for protection. This dreadful devaſtation continued for three days; and unſpeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that ſunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were ſtill numberleſs traces of the city's former greatneſs; ſo that this capture ſeemed rather a correction, than a total overthrow.

But the Gothic conquerors of the Weſt, though they had ſuffered Rome to ſurvive its firſt capture, now found how eaſy it was to become maſters of it upon any other occaſion. The extent of its walls had, in fact, made it almoſt impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was ſituated in a plain, it might be ſtormed without much difficulty. Beſides this, no ſuccours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was ſo extremely diminiſhed, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna; a place ſo fortified by nature, that they could be ſafe without the aſſiſtance of an army. What Alaric, therefore, ſpared, Geſneric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to deſtroy: his mercileſs ſoldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury, in the midſt of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings, neither ſex, nor age, nor religion, were the leaſt protection againſt their luſt or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ranſacked ſeveral times, and Italy over-run by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remoteſt ſkirts of Europe; the weſtern emperors for ſome time, continued to hold the title without the power of royalty. Honorius lived till he ſaw himſelf ſtripped of the greateſt part of his dominions; his capital taken by the Goths; the Huns

ſeized

ſeized of Pannonia; the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals eſtabliſhed in Spain; and the Burgundians ſettled in Gaul, where the Goths alſo fixed themſelves at laſt. After ſome time, the inhabitants of Rome alſo, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the ſupreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain, ſeeing themſelves forſaken, began to regulate themſelves by their own laws. Thus the power of the ſtate was entirely broken, and thoſe who aſſumed the title of emperors, only encountered certain deſtruction. At length, even the very name of emperor of the Weſt expired upon the abdication of Auguſtulus; and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, aſſumed the title of king of all Italy. Such was the end of this great empire, that had conquered mankind with its arms, and inſtructed the world with its wiſdom; that had riſen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been eſtabliſhed by a ſpirit of patriotiſm, and that ſunk into ruin when the empire was become ſo extenſive, that a Roman citizen was but an empty name. Its final diſſolution happened about five hundred and twenty-two years after the battle of Pharſalia; an hundred and forty-ſix after the removal of the imperial ſeat to Conſtantinople; and four hundred and ſeventy-ſix after the nativity of our Saviour.

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